

History of the Ojibways, and their connection with fur traders

395

**HISTORY OF THE OJIBWAYS, AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH FUR TRADERS,
BASED UPON OFFICIAL AND OTHER RECORDS.**

BY REV. EDWARD D. NEILL, A.B.,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
HON. VICE-PRESIDENT NEW ENGLAND HIST. GEN. SOCIETY.

397

**HISTORY OF THE OJIBWAYS, AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH FUR TRADERS,
BASED UPON OFFICIAL AND OTHER RECORDS.**

The entrance to Lake Superior is obstructed by a succession of rapids, first called by traders Sault, or in modern French, Saut du Gaston, in compliment to Jean Baptiste Gaston,¹ the younger brother of Louis the Thirteenth, but in 1669, named by Jesuit missionaries, Sault de Sainte Marie. Here, the French traders arrived in the days of Champlain, and found a band of Indians, who largely subsisted upon the white fish of the region, and were known among the Iroquois, as Estiaghicks or Ostiagahoroones. By the Hurons they were called Pautigouieuhak, dwellers at the falls, or Pahouitingouachirini, men of the shallow cataract.² In the Jesuit relations of 1647–8 mention is made of

¹ Gaston the younger son of Henry the Fourth, and his wife, Marie de Medicis.

² J. Hammond Trumbull in January number of *Historical Magazine*, Morrisania, 1870, writes: "The Powhatans and their great Emperor derived their name, Smith informs us, from a place near the falls in James River, where is now the city of Richmond.

Library of Congress

“‘Powhat-hanne’ or ‘pau’t-hanné’ denotes ‘falls in a stream.’ The first part of the name is found in the Massachusetts and Narragansett ‘Pawtuck’ (pau’ttuck) ‘falls in a tidal river,’ whence the name of Pawtucket, ‘at the falls,’ and its derivative Pawtuxet ‘at the little falls.’ again in the Chippeway name of the Saut Ste. Marie ‘pawateeg,’ and with the place termination ‘pawating,’ ‘at the falls.’ The Algonkin name for Indians who lived near the Saut, among whom were reckoned the Chippeways, was Pawitagou-ek or Pawichtigou-ek, ‘Sauteurs,’ or People of the Falls.”

398 the Paouitagoung, in these words: “These last, are those whom we call the nation of the Sault, distant from us a little more than a hundred leagues, whose consent to a route, it would be necessary to have, if one wished to go beyond, to communicate with numerous other more distant Algonquin nations, who dwell upon the shores of another lake [Superior] still larger than the Mer Douce [Huron], into which it discharges itself, by a very large, and very rapid river, which before mingling its waters with our fresh-water sea [Lake Huron], makes a fall or leap that gives a name to those people, who come to live there during the fishing season.”¹

¹ Schoolcraft writes: “The French word Sault (pronounced So) accurately expresses this kind of pitching rapids or falls. The Indians call it Bawateeg or Pawateeg when speaking of the phenomenon; and Bawating or Pawating when referring to the place. Pangwa is an expression denoting shallow water on rocks. The inflection eeg is an animate plural. Ing is the local terminal form of nouns. In the south or American channel there is no positive leap of the water, but an intensely swift current.”

MEANING OF THE WORD OJIBWAY.

This tribe, however, called themselves Achipoué or Ojibway.² The origin of the name has not been satisfactorily determined. Schoolcraft writes: “They call themselves Ojibwas. Bwa in this language denotes voice. Ojibwamong signifies Chippewa language or voice. It is not manifest what the prefixed syllable denotes.”

Library of Congress

2 Sir William Johnson, British Superintendant of Indian Affairs, calls them Chippeweighs, also Chippewæ. In the treaty of 1807, at Detroit, this tribe are called Chippeways; and in that of 1820 at Sault Ste. Marie they are “the Chippeway tribe of Indians.”

Belcourt, for many years a Roman Catholic missionary among the Indians of the Red River of the North, writing of the word Odjibwek, uses this language: “This word has 399 been the object of a great many suppositions. Some say it was given on account of the form of their platted shoes, *teibwa*, platted, but this interpretation is not admissible, for the word does not contain the least allusion to shoes. Others say that it comes from the form the mouth assumes in pronouncing certain words, wishing always to hold on to the adjective, *teibwa*; this is not more satisfactory. I would venture, then, to say that the word Odjib wek comes from *shibwe* in order to make a proper name. Oshibwek, in the plural, the pronouncing slowly of *shib* (root), to draw out; that is to say, to lengthen out a word by the slow pronunciation of its syllables; the particle *we* signifying articulate, pronounce; the *k* is an animated plural, which here can only be applied to men. In truth the pronunciation of the Saulteuse characterizes them in an eminent manner.”¹

1 Rev. G. A. Belcourt. Annals of Minnesota Historical Society, 1853, pp. 25–26.

The “Men of the Shallow Cataract” lived where the “noise of many waters” sounded like a voice or hoarse murmur, and as the discharge from Lake Superior was contracted, into the narrow shallow channel, the waters became ruffled or puckered. Gov. Ramsey, of Minnesota, in 1850, in a report to the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs writes as to the word Ojibway: “As there is no discernible pucker in their voice, or mode of speaking, a more natural genesis of the word could probably be derived from a circumstance in their past history. Upwards of two centuries ago they were driven by the Iroquois, or Six Nations of New York, into the strait of Mackinaw, where Lake Huron, Michigan, and Superior, are “puckered” into a small channel or narrow compass.”

BRULÉ, EARLY VOYAGEUR TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

Library of Congress

Stephen Brulé, one of the reckless and enterprising voyageurs under Champlain, in A. D. 1618, appears to have been the first man who brought to Quebec a description of Lake Superior, as well as a specimen of its copper. On Champlain's Map of 1632, appears Lake Superior, and in the accompanying description Sault du Gaston is described as nearly two leagues broad, and discharging into Met Douce (Lake Huron).

NICOLET, FIRST EXPLORER WEST OF GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN.

On the 4th of July, 1634, another person,¹ Jean Nicolet, in the service of the fur company known as the "Hundred Associates," of whom Champlain was the agent, left Three Rivers, on his way to the upper lakes, and during the next autumn and winter became acquainted with the Ojibways at Sault du Gaston, and the Ochungraw or Winnebagoes of Green Bay.

¹ Sulte in vol. viii. Wis. Hist. Soc. Col.

In 1641, the Hurons, then living on the east side of the lake which bears their name, gave a great feast, at which several tribes were present, and there the Jesuit missionaries saw for the first time the Ojibways.

Year after year, the adventurous fur traders became better acquainted with the tribes of the Upper Lakes. Father Le Mercier,² in a letter dated at Quebec, the 21st day of September, 1654, alludes to a flotilla of canoes guided by traders, loaded with furs belonging to friendly Indians, who came from the west, a distance of four hundred leagues. In the same relation, it is mentioned, that if a person could be found, who would send thirty Frenchmen into that country, not only would they gain many souls to God, but they would receive a profit that would surpass the expenses they would incur for the support of the Frenchmen that might be sent, because the finest peltries came, in the greatest abundance, from those quarters.

² Relation 1653–54.

In August, 1654, while those Indians were trading at Quebec, thirty young Frenchmen equipped themselves to return with them, and engage in the fur trade, but after they commenced their journey were driven back by the Iroquois.

GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON THE EARLIEST EXPLORERS OF MINNESOTA.

The great impulse to trade with the natives of Lake Superior was given by the explorations of two natives of France, Medard Chouart, afterwards called Sieur des Groseilliers, and his brother-in-law, Pierre d'Esprit, the Sieur Radisson.¹

¹ Medard Chouart was born near Ferte Sous Jouarre, eleven miles east of Meaux in France, and in 1641, when only sixteen years old, came to Canada. In 1647 he married Helen, widow of Claude Etienne, the daughter of a pilot, Abraham Martin, whose baptismal name is still attached to the "Plains of Abraham" in the suburbs of Quebec. His first wife in 1651 died, and in 1653 he married another widow, whose maiden name was Margaret Hayer Radisson, and a sister of his fellow explorer.

Pierre d'Esprit, the Sieur Radisson, Was born at St. Mato, and in 1656 at Three Rivers, Canada, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Madeleine Hainault, and after her death, the daughter of Sir John Kirk or Kertk, a zealous Huguenot, became his wife.

They were the first to push to the head of Lake Superior, and after visiting the Tionnontantes Hurons, who had fled from their enemies to the vicinity of the headwaters of the Black and Chippeway Rivers in Wisconsin, they wintered with the Dahkotahs or Sioux, west of Lake Superior, in the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota.

During the spring and early summer they became familiar with the shores of Lake Superior, and upon Franquelin's Map of 1688, what is now Pigeon River, and a portion of the boundary between the United States and Dominion of Canada, is called Groseilliers.² On the 19th of August, 1660, Groseilliers, by way of the Ottawa River, reached 26

2 See Neill's *History of Minnesota*, 5th edition. 1883.

402 Montreal, with three hundred of the Upper Algonquins. He had left Lake Superior with one hundred canoes, but forty turned back, and the value of the peltries was 200,000 livres. From that time traders gathered at Sault Ste. Marie, Keweenaw; and Chagouamigon Bay. In a few days the furs were sold, and on the 28th Groseilliers left "Three Rivers," and again turned his face westward, accompanied by six traders, and the first missionary for that region, the aged Menard, and his servant Jean Guerin. The party passed Sault Ste. Marie, and on the 15th of October, 1660, were at Keweenaw Bay,¹ and here Menard spent the winter. Several Frenchmen engaged in fishing and trading, also, were at this point.

1 In the 5th vol. of Schoolcraft's *Statistical Information*, p. 646, there is an article with the name of Rev. Edw. D. Neill attached, which erroneously mentions that Menard went to Chagouamigon Bay.

Mr. Neill never saw, nor corresponded, with Mr. Schoolcraft, and it is an enigma how an article which Mr. Neill never wrote, could appear, with his name attached, as the author.

FIRST TRADERS AT CHAGOUAMIGON BAY.

Groseilliers returned to Canada in 1662, and on the second of May, with ten men, left Quebec, to extend his explorations toward Hudson's Bay.² The presence of traders attracted the the Ojibways to Keweenaw, and the refugee Hurons and Ottawas were drawn from the Ottawa Lakes, in the interior of Wisconsin, to Chagouamigon Bay, where a trading post had also been established.

2 *Journal des Jesuites*, par MM. les Abbés Laverdiere et Cosgrain, Quebec, 1871.

Here the latter fished, hunted, and cultivated Indian corn and pumpkins. Upon one occasion, about the year 1600, while on a hunting excursion, they met a party of Ojibways

Library of Congress

with some Frenchmen on their way to Chagouamigon, to trade. A war party of one hundred Iroquois came not long after to Sault Ste. Marie, and encamped 403 about five leagues above the rapids. Some Ojibways, Ottawas, Nepissings, and Amikouëts were in the vicinity engaged in catching white fish and hunting in the forests. Two of their number discovered the smoke of the Iroquois encampment, and informed the Ojibway chief, who sent a canoe of warriors to reconnoitre.

CONFLICT AT IROQUOIS POINT, LAKE SUPERIOR.

Under the cover of a dense forest, they advanced and discovered the number of Iroquois; and came back and reported. ported. The Ojibways and allies then marched by night and arrived near the Iroquois, and hid behind a ridge of earth. The dogs of the enemy were kept from barking, by throwing food at them,¹ and as soon as it was sufficiently light they gave the war-whoop. The Iroquois roused from sleep, wished to Seize their arms, but could not face the discharge of arrows. The Ojibways then, tomahawk in hand, entered the tents of their ancient foes, slaughtered many, and were elated with their complete victory. After this, the Ojibways and their allies visited Keweenaw, and Chagouamigon.²

¹ Perrot's *Memoir*, edited by Tailhan. Leipzig and Paris, 1864.

² Schoolcraft defines Shaugwamegin as low lands. A writer in the *Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii., alludes to a tavern of the last century in Montreal, known as the "Chagouamigon," and thinks it is the Algonquin word Chaboumikon, eye of a needle. Baraga in his Otehipwé Dictionary defines Jabonigon as needle. The low sandy point projected like a long needle.

THE VOYAGEURS OF GROSEILLIERS DISCOVER COPPER.

Some of the voyageurs who left Montreal, in 1660, with Groseilliers, did not return until the summer of 1663, and were the first to give an extended account of Lake Superior. Pierre Boucher, an honored citizen of Canada, in a little book published in Paris, in 1664,

Library of Congress

mentions that a 404 large island full of copper, had been discovered in the western extremity of Lake Superior. He also wrote: "There are other places, in that neighborhood, where there are similar mines, as I have learned from four or five Frenchmen, lately returned from there, who went with a Jesuit Father [Menard, who died in the summer of 1661, toward the sources of the Black River of Wisconsin]. They were gone three years, before they could find an opportunity to return. They told me they had seen a nugget of copper, at the end of a hill, which weighed more than eight hundred pounds. They said that the Indians, as they pass it, make fires on top of it, and then hew pieces out of it with their axes."

FATHER ALLOUEZ ACCOMPANIES TRADERS.

In 1665, some of the French traders, with Indians of the Upper Lakes, came to Quebec, to trade, and Father Allouez was invited to return with them. In his journal¹ he writes: "The eighth day of August of the year 1665, I embarked at 'Three Rivers,' with six Frenchmen, in company with more than four hundred savages of divers nations, who were returning to their homes, after having finished their traffic." The month of September was passed in coasting along the southern shore of Lake Superior, or Tracy, as it was then called. On the 1st day of October, the party reached Chagonamigon. Allouez describes it, as "a beautiful Bay, at the bottom of which is situated the great village of the savages, who, there, plant their fields of Indian corn, and lead a stationary life. They are there, to the number of eight hundred men bearing arms, but collected from seven different nations, who dwell in peace with each other." In another place, Allouez writes: "This quarter of the lake where we have stopped, is between two large

¹ Relation of 1666–67.

405 villages, and as it was the centre of all the nations of these countries, because fish are abundant there, which forms the principal subsistence of this people. We have erected there a small chapel of bark." Franquelin's Map of 1688 places a settlement near the southwestern extremity of the bay. There was no village on the island near the entrance.¹

Library of Congress

1 The Map of Lake Superior, which is attached to the *Jesuit Relations* of 1670–71, marks the projection into Lake Superior, forming the west shore of Chagouamigon Bay as *La Pointe du St. Esprit*. By the voyageurs it was called La Pointe. It is not until the 19th century we find La Pointe, or Madaline applied to the island, about three miles from Bayfield, Wisconsin.

This island on Franquelin's Map of 1688 is called Isle Detour ou St. Michel Bellin's complete French map of Lake Superior, which is in Charlevoix's *Histoire et description générale de Nouvelle France*, Paris, A.D. 1744, shows Ance [Bay] de Chagouamigon, and marks a little bay, within this, near the modern hamlet of Washburn, Baye St. Charles, in compliment to Charles Beauharnois, then governor of Canada; the then long sandy peninsula, the eastern arm of Chagouamigon Bay, now become an island, is called Pointe de Chagouamigon, The group of islands is called the Apostles, and the two, in front, of the town of Bayfield, are named St. Michel and La Ronde, the latter after a French officer. At the bottom of Chagouamigon Bay, is the mark O, the sign of a trading post or Indian village with the remark that there was once there an important village "Ici étoit une Bourgade considérable." In the map of Canada, in De L'Isle's Atlas, corrected by his son-in-law Philip Buache, in A. D. 1745, a "Maison Française," French trading house, is indicated at Pt. Chagouamigon.

BANDS IN A. D. 1665, AT CHAGOUAMIGON BAY.

Among the refugees from the Iroquois at this time At Chagouamigon Point were the Tinnontateheronnons, formerly called Hurons of the Tobacco Nation, the three bands of Ottawas, Ottawa Sinagos, and Kis-ka-kons.² There also came to trade the Ousakis³ (Sauks) and Outagamis (Foxes), an allied people who spoke a difficult Algonquin

2 La Mothe Cadillac in 1695, commander at Mackinaw, wrote, that the Ottawas were divided into four bands, the Kiskakons or Queues Coupées; the Sable so called because their old residence was on a sandy point; the Sinago'; and the Nassauaketon, or People of

Library of Congress

the Fork, because they had resided on a river which had three forks or branches, perhaps the Chippeway River of Wisconsin. Nassauaketon was the Algonquin word for a river which forked.

3 Lake Osakis or Ousaukee in Minnesota has its name from this tribe.

406 dialect. The Illinois came, moreover, to this place from sixty leagues southward, and, wrote a missionary, far “beyond a great river that discharges itself as near as I can conjecture, into the sea towards Virginia.” Here too was occasionally encamped the Ojibways. As the fear of the Iroquois subsided, some Hurons returned to the Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), and others went back to Sault Ste. Marie, and there, in 1669, the missionaries resolved to make their principal residence at the foot of the rapids.

FIRST MISSION HOUSE AT SAULT STE. MARIE, A.D. 1669.

The voyageurs, at this early period, congregated here, amounted to twenty or twenty-five, and the Jesuits constructed a square of pine and cedar pickets, twelve feet high, with a small log chapel and house within the inclosure

Gallineé, a Su]pitian priest, who had been with La Salle on Lake Erie in May, 1670, visited the post,¹ and thus described the Ojibways: “The Saulteux, or in the Algonquin, laoutikoungraentaouak, or the Outchipoué, where the Fathers are established, from the melting of the snow until the commencement of winter, dwell on the banks of a river about a half league in breadth, and three leagues in length, where the Lake Superior empties into Lake Huron. Here the river is abundant in fish, called white, in the Algonquin, Attikamegue.”

¹ Margry, vol. i. p. 161.

In 1671, the frail bark chapel at Chagouamigon Bay was abandoned, and missionaries did not again reside in that vicinity, until after one hundred and fifty years.²

Library of Congress

2 At the request of the principal trader Lyman M. Warren, in the summer of 1830, Frederick Ayer, who had been one of the teachers under the Rev. William Perry, Presbyterian missionary at Mackinaw, came to the Island St. Michel, which was now called La Pointe, and established a school for Indian children, and after a short period returned to Mackinaw. The next year, 1831, Mr. Warren, brought up as a missionary, the Rev. Sherman Hall, a graduate of Dartmouth College, with his wife, and Frederick Ayer and wife as catechists and teachers. In June, 1832, Mr. Hall was joined by his classmate, the Rev. W. T. Boutwell, and the latter in October, 1833, established a mission at Leech Lake, the first attempted west of Lake Superior among the Ojibways of Minnesota. After this mission was established, Father Baraga, an estimable Roman Catholic missionary, built a chapel on the island.

A guide book published in 1884. with the title “ *Summer Tours via the Great Lakes*,” promulgates the following fiction: “The Church still stands, a portion of it being the identical log structure built by Pere Marquette. The visitor is shown an old picture which it is said the Pope of that time gave Marquette for his mission church in the wilderness....The half-breed Indian who acts as guide will open a closet and show the visitor an ancient vestment which it is said Pere Marquette wore on great occasions.”

Myths, like the above, silently creep into history, as moths into cloth, and are difficult to expel.

407

CHAGOUAMIGON BAY MISSION ABANDONED.

The “Relation of 1670–71,” alluding to the mission at the extremity of Lake Superior, describes a difficulty with the Dakotahs or Sioux: “Our Outaonacs and Hurons of the Point of the Holy Ghost have to the present time kept up a kind of peace with them, but affairs having become embroiled during last winter, and some murders even having been committed on both sides, our savages had reason to apprehend that the storm would soon

Library of Congress

burst upon them, and judged that it was safer for them to leave the place, which in fact they did in the spring, when they retired to the Lake of the Hurons.”¹

¹ Cadillac corroborates this statement, in a letter, written in 1703, from Detroit. His words are: “It is proper that you should be informed that more than fifty years since [about 1645] the Iroquois by force of arms drove away nearly all of the other Indian nations from this region [Lake Huron] to the extremity of Lake Superior, a country north of this post, and frightfully barren and inhospitable. About thirty-two years ago [1671] these excited tribes collected themselves together at Michillimakinak.” Margry, vol. v. p. 317.

CONVOCATION OF A. D. 1671, AT SAULT STE. MARIE

To prevent Groseilliers, now in the employ of the English at Hudson's Bay, from drawing the Indians of Lake Superior thither for trade, Talon, the Intendant of Canada, 408 in September, 1670, invited Nicholas Perrot, well acquainted with the Upper Algonquin tribes, to act as guide and interpreter to his deputy Simon François Daumont, known in history as the Sieur Saint Lusson. In the spring of 1671, in accordance with a notification from Perrot, the tribes of the Upper Lakes began to move toward Sault Ste. Marie, and there on the 14th of June, Saint Lusson formed a treaty of friendship with the “Achipoés” or Ojibways and many other tribes.¹

¹ The treaty was signed in the presence of D'Ablon, Superior of the mission, and his colleagues Dreuilletes, Allonez, and André of the Society of Jesus; Nicholas Perrot, interpreter; Sieur Joliet; Jacques Mograss of Three Rivers; Pierre Moreau, the Sieur de la Taupine; Denis Masse; François de Chavigny, Sieur de la Chevrottiere; Jacques Lagillier; Jean Maysere; Nicholas Dupuis; François Bibaud; Jacques Joviel; Pierre Porteret; Robert Duprat; Vital Driol; Guillaume Bonhomme. In the Process Verbal the Jesuit Fathers are described as then making their mission— *Margry*, vol. i. p. 97.

When the Hurons fled to Lake Huron, from Lake Superior, the Ojibways occupied their hunting grounds, and pressed west of Lake Superior, and descended to the Mississippi, by

Library of Congress

way of the river in Wisconsin which still bears their name,² but it was not till the French, in 1692, re-established a trading post at Chagouamigon that it became an important Ojibway village.

² The Chippeway River, upon Franquelin's Map of 1688, is marked R. des Sauteurs.

TRAGEDY AT SAULT STE. MARIE, A. D. 1674.

In 1674, some Sioux warriors arrived at the Sault to make peace with the adjacent tribes. While there an Indian assassinated one of the Sioux, and a fight ensued. Nine of the Sioux were killed, and the two survivors fled to the Jesuits' house for safety, where they found arms, and opened fire upon their foes. The Indians of the Sault wished to burn them, with the house, which the Jesuits would not allow, as many peltries were stored there. Louis Le Bohesme, or Boeme, the armorer and blacksmith of the 409 mission, at length allowed a cannon to be fired at the house, by which the Sioux were killed.

Governor Frontenac was indignant at Le Boeme's course, and reported the case to Colbert, the Colonial Minister of Louis the Fourteenth.

HENRY TONTY AND LA SALLE AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

Henry Tonty was sent in September, 1679, by La Salle to arrest some deserters who were trading at Sault Ste. Marie, and had induced Louis Le Bohesme, the lay brother of the Jesuits, to conceal their peltries in the mission house. Two years afterwards La Salle visited the place, to obtain his peltries. Father Balloquet told him that there was a large number of similar skins in the loft, above the chapel, and if he could prove which were his, he could remove them. La Salle with some sharpness replied, "That he feared he might be excommunicated if by mistake he took peltries which he could not distinguish from his own,"¹ and returned to Mackinaw.

¹ Margry, vol. ii. 116, 226.

DU LUTH VISITS OJIBWAYS OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

After the great council at Sault Ste. Marie, the number of traders increased around Lake Superior. Frontenac, Governor of Canada, sent his engineer Randin to the extremity of the lake with presents, to conciliate the Sioux and Ojibways, and on the 1st of September, 1678, Du Luth who had been a gendarme in his French majesty's guard, at the battle of Seneffe in 1674, left Montreal for Lake Superior, with three Indians and three Frenchmen. He wintered in the woods about nine miles from Sault Ste. Marie, and after the ice disappeared in the spring of 1679, he proceeded to the head of the lake, and was the first person to erect a trading post at Kaministigoya, not far from the FortWilliam, which at the beginning of the present century, 410 was built by the Northwest Company. During the year 1679 the Sioux and Ojibways were on friendly terms, and Du Luth¹ with some Ojibways visited the former. La Salle mentions that "the Sauteurs [Ojibways] who are the savages who carry peltries to Montreal, and who dwell on Lake Superior, wishing to obey the repeated words of the Count [Governor Frontenac] made a peace to unite the Sauteurs and French, and to trade with the Nadouesieux situated about sixty leagues west from Lake Superior."

1 The spelling of La Salle, and Hennepin, is followed, while du L'Hut is more correct.

In June, 1680, Du Luth not satisfied with his visit to the Sioux country by land left his stopping place eight leagues above the Nemitsakouat, now Bois Brulé River, with two canoes, and an Ojibway guide, a Sioux, and four Frenchmen. Ascending the Bois Brulé, by breaking down many beaver dams, he reached its sources; and then, by a short portage, reached the lake from which the River Saint Croix flows, and descended this stream to its junction with the Mississippi, and by way of the Wisconsin, in the spring of 1681 reached Quebec, after an absence of two and a half years. In the fall of 1682, he went to France, and wrote there a memoir, early in 1683, which Harris was the first to

Library of Congress

print, and which Shea has translated and appended to his edition of Hennepin's Louisiana, both of whom, in giving 1685 as the date of its composition, have fallen into error.

As soon as Du Luth returned from France, in 1683, he hastened to Mackinaw with a number of canoes, and on the 8th of August left that post with thirty men, with goods for trading with the Sioux, and proceeded towards the Mississippi by the Green Bay route. Father Engelran, in a letter from Mackinaw on the 26th of August, to Governor De la Barre, writes:² "The result from such an expedition

2 Margry, vol. v. p. 5.

411 will be of no little importance, if we can only prevent a rupture between the Outagamis [Foxes] and Sauteurs [Ojibways]." Du Luth is supposed to have erected the post upon the borders of the Sioux and Ojibway country try at the portage at the head of the Saint Croix River, which on Franquelin's Map of 1688 is called Fort Saint Croix.

In a few months Du Luth had returned to Mackinaw, and soon was called upon to make an impressive exhibition of the majesty of the French law among the Ojibways.¹

¹ The letter of Du Luth copied from the original containing the account which follows, may be found in 2d series, vol. iv., Paris Documents in Parliament Library, Ottawa, Canada. It has been translated in Sheldon's Michigan from a copy of the original among Cass MSS.

EXECUTION OF OJIBWAYS BY DULUTH.

During the summer of 1683, Jacques Le Maire and Colin Berthot were surprised by three Ojibways, while on their way to trade at Keweenaw, and murdered. Their bodies were thrown into a marsh, and covered with pine boughs to keep them from floating, and the merchandise in their canoes was hidden at different points in the woods. On the 24th of October, Du Luth was informed that Folle Avoine, one of the murderers, had arrived at Sault Ste. Marie with fifteen families of Ojibways, who had fled from Chagouamigon from fear of the Sioux. The French at Sault Ste. Marie, twelve in number, had not arrested him,

Library of Congress

because the Ojibways had declared that they would not allow the French to redden the land of their fathers with the blood of their brothers. Immediately Du Luth resolved to go to the Sault and seize the assassin. At dawn of the next day he embarked with two canoes. In one was the Jesuit missionary Enjalran, Chevalier Fourcelle, Cardonniere, and Du Luth; in the other, Baribaud,²

² Baraboo, in Wisconsin, is a corruption it is said of Baribaud.

412 Le Mere, La Fortune, and Maçons. A league from the Sault, Du Luth and party left the canoe, and through the woods walked to the mission house to prevent the guilty one from escaping, and soon arrested him, and placed him under a guard of six Frenchmen.

Peré,¹ the expert voyageur, who is supposed to have been the same person who discovered that the river Perray, a tributary of Lake Nepigon, was a good route to Hudson's Bay, was sent to Keweenaw to capture the other murderers. During his absence Du Luth held councils with the Ojibways and told them that they must separate the guilty from the innocent or the whole nation would suffer. They accused Achiganaga and his sons, but believed that Peré would never be able to take them.

¹ Peré and Nicholas Perrot have sometimes been considered as the same person. In 1677, the Sieur Peré was with La Salle, at Fort Frontenac. In 1679, Peré was alienated from La Salle, and employed by Governor Andros of New York. After this he appears to have been "a close prisoner at London for eighteen months." Governor Dongan of New York, on Sept. 8, 1687, sends La Perre (Peré) to Canada "with an answer to the French Governor's angry letter."

At ten o'clock of the night of the 24th of November Peré came through the forest, and said that he had arrested Achiganaga and four of his sons, all of whom were not guilty, and that Folle Avoine already at the Sault was the most guilty. Peré found at Keweenaw eighteen Frenchmen who had passed the winter of 1682 at that point.

Peré had left his prisoners in charge of twelve Frenchmen at a place four leagues from the post, and at dawn of the 25th, with four more men he went back, and by two o'clock in the afternoon returned with the captives, who were placed under guard in a room in Du Luth's house.

On the 26th a council was held, and each prisoner was allowed two of his relatives to defend his interests. Each of the accused was questioned, and his answers written, and afterwards read to him, and inquiry made whether they were correct.

413

As Folle Avoine had insinuated that his father Achiganaga was an accessory to the murder, the latter was brought into the presence of his four sons, and when the latter were asked if he had advised them to kill the Frenchmen they answered, "No."

"This confrontation," writes Du Luth, "which the savages did not expect, surprised them, and seeing the prisoners had convicted themselves, the chiefs in council said, 'It is enough; you accuse yourselves; the French are masters of your bodies.'"

On the 28th another council was held in the lodge of the chief Brother, where it was hoped that the Indians would say what ought to be done, but it only ended "in reducing tobacco to ashes."

On the 29th all the French at the Sault were called together, and the questions to, and answers of the prisoners read, after which it was the unanimous opinion that three of the sons were guilty. As only two Frenchmen had been killed Du Luth and De la Tour, the Superior of the Jesuit mission, decided that only Folle Avoine, and the brother next in age to him, should suffer the penalty of the law.

Du Luth then returned to the lodge of Brochet, accompanied by Boisguillot,¹ Peré, De Repentigny, De Manthet, De la Ferte, and Maçons. Here were gathered all the chiefs of the Outawas du Sable, Outawas Sinagos, Kiskakons, Sauteurs, D'Achiliny, some Hurons

Library of Congress

and Oumamens, the chief of the Amikoues, and Du Luth announced that the Frenchmen had been killed, and it had been decided that two of those engaged in the murder should be put to death, and left the council. The Jesuit missionaries now baptized the culprits, and Du Luth writes: "An hour after I put myself at the head of forty-two Frenchmen, and in sight of more than four hundred savages, and

1 Boisguillot was afterwards a trader near the mouth of the Wisconsin.

414 within two hundred paces of their fort, I caused the two murderers to be shot."¹

1 While Du Luth was thus occupied Groseilliers and Radisson, who had left the English, were in Paris, as will be seen from the following dispatches of Lord Preston, the English Ambassador, which have never been published in this country.

Preston, in 1683, informs the English government that the French Canadians had burned the Hudson Bay Company's house, taken prisoners John Bridger and servants, planted the French standard, and changed the names of two branches of the river, calling one Port Bourbon, and that in August they had seized an English ship called the "Bachelors' Delight," and requested the French authorities to arrest Radisson the leader of the assault on Port Nelson. Under the date of 19th of January, 1683–84, he writes to England: "Sent my Secretary, to know if the King had ordered any answer concerning the attack upon Nelson's Port. I find the great support of Mons. de la Barre, the present Governor of Canada, is from the Jesuits of this Court, which order always hath a great number of missionaries in that region, who besides the conversion of infidels, have had the address to engross the whole castor trades from which they draw considerable advantage. The late Governor, the Marquis de Frontenac, did ever oppose himself to their designs, and executed the King his Master's right to that traffique, but they found the means by the interests of Father de la Chaise, to have him recalled and the present Governor sent, who complyeth wholly with them, and giveth them no kind of trouble in their commerce. ...Raditon [Radisson] arrived about the time you mentioned, at Rochelle, and hath been in Paris these five days. There came on shore, at the same time, from a merchant

Library of Congress

vessel Des Groselieres, a person whose story is well known, in those countries, and who accompanied the others in his action. I am told that they both took possession for the English, this very Nelson's River and Port, by a commission which they had from England. A friend of mine who hath seen the former since his arrival tells me that he finds him much alarmed with the charge against him.”

After asking that charts, and the voyages of Baffin, Nelson, Fox, and others may be sent to him, Lord Preston continues: “ I rather desire this, because I hear Radisson is come charged with a great number of them which are doubtless drawn for his purpose. I am told privately, that a relation of the taking possession of Port Nelson in the name of the English, by these very men Des Groselieres and Radisson may be found a the papers of Prince Robert [Rupert].”

On the 26th of January he writes again: “I am informed that Radisson and Des Groselieres have seen Mons. de Seignelay since their arrival, who informed him, that they had lived in that country for many years, in very good intelligence with the English, having furnished them with provender, but that they having a design once to insult them, and to take from them three or four hundred pounds of powder, they defended themselves, and that the English commenced hostilities.”— *Seventh Report of the Royal Historical Commission*.

415

In 1684, by order of Gov. De la Barre, he went to Niagara with Indian allies, but returned to the Lake Superior region the same autumn. In the fall of 1686 he withdrew from the Upper Lakes, and constructed a fort, near the entrance of Lake Huron, about thirty miles above the site of the city of Detroit, to intercept the English traders who were beginning to carry goods to the Upper Lakes, and undersell the French.¹

¹ The following table in N. Y. Col. Does. ix. 408, shows the cheapness of English goods in 1689:—

Library of Congress

The Indian pays for At Orange (Albany). Montreal. 8 pounds of powder One beaver. Four. A gun Two " Five. 40 lbs. of lead One " Three. Red blanket One " Two. White " One " Two. 6 pr' stockings One " Two. 4 shirts One " Two.

The English give 6 q'ts of eau de vie West India rum for one beaver. The French have no fixed rate in trading brandy, but never give a quart for one beaver.

The English do not discriminate in the quality of beaver but take all, at the same rate, 50 per cent. higher than the French.

During the summer of 1687, he proceeded with the Indians of the Upper Lakes to aid the French against the Seneca Iroquois. The Governor of Canada in his report to the French government mentions the good service rendered by Du Luth, and wrote, that on the 13th of July "M. de Callieres, who was at the head of three companies commanded by Tonty, De la Durantaye, and Du Lhu, and of all our Indians, fell about three o'clock in the afternoon into an ambuscade of Senecas, posted in the vicinity of that defile." After a short conflict, the French, at night, maintained a bivouac, and the next day pursued the flying Senecas.

The Governor writes: "We witnessed the painful sight of the usual cruelties of the savages, who cut the dead in 416 quarters, as is done in slaughter-houses, in order to put them into the kettle; the greater number was opened while still warm that their blood might be drank. Our rascally Otaoas distinguished themselves particularly by these barbarities, and by their poltroonery; the Hurons of Michilimaquina did very well."¹

¹ Denonville, N. Y. Col. Docs. ix. 338, 365.

CHECK TO FUR TRADE OF UPPER LAKES.

After this battle, fear of the Iroquois stopped the fur trade beyond Lake Erie, and the merchants of Montreal and Quebec were impoverished.

Du Luth, in the summer of 1687, came back for a short time to Fort St. Joseph, and one of his escorts was Lahontan.

LAHONTAN AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

Early in June, 1688, Lahontan visited the Falls of Saint Mary, where he found a village of Outchipoués, or Saulteurs, not far from the Jesuit's house. On the 13th, he left with forty Saulteurs, in five canoes, and at Mackinaw was joined by a party of Ottawas. On the first of July he reached Fort St. Joseph. Two days later, he and the Indians embarked for Lake Erie, and on the 28th the Saulteurs had a fight with the Iroquois, in which they lost four of their number, but killed three, wounded five, and took prisoners the remainder of the Iroquois party. On the 24th of August, Lahontan returned to Fort St. Joseph, which had been built in 1686–87 by Du Luth. A Miami Indian having brought the intelligence that the fort at Niagara had been demolished by order of the Governor of Canada, on the 27th of August, he burned Fort St. Joseph, and retired to Mackinaw.

Lahontan mentions that when he was at Sault Ste. Marie there was no permanent Indian village on the banks 417 of Lake Superior. The first trading post of Du Luth at Kaministigoya was given up, while a post existed at Chagouamigon, Lemipiski (Nepigon), and at the River Bagouache, on the north shore, a short distance east of the outlet of Lake Nepigon.

SAULT STE. MARIE ABANDONED.

After 1689, the trading post and mission house was abandoned at Sault Ste. Marie, and Mackinaw became the central point for traders and missionaries.

In May, 1690, Governor Frontenac sent M. de Louvigny, a half-pay captain, to relieve Sieur du la Durantaye, at Mackinaw, and Nicholas Perrot accompanied him, with presents and messages for the upper nations. As a result of this visit, in August, five hundred of

Library of Congress

the upper Indians arrived at Montreal to trade, and the merchants rejoiced, as so large a number had not appeared for a long time.

On the 25th, Count Frontenac, the Governor, gave them a grand feast of two oxen, six large dogs, two barrels of wine, some prunes, and plenty of tobacco to smoke.¹

1 *Occurrences of 1689–90*, N.Y. Col. Docs. ix. 478, 479.

MACKINAW A.D. 1700.

Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, commandant at Mackinaw for several years, has left an accurate description of the place. After describing the island of Missilimackinac he writes:² “Opposite this island is a large sandy cove on the border of the lake, and in the middle of this is the French fort, where the garrison and commandant reside. The post is called the Fort de Buade. The monastery of the Jesuits, the village of the French, and that of the Hurons and Ottawas adjoin one another and fill up the border at the bottom of the anse or cove.”

2 Margry, vol. v. p. 80.

The Hurons and Ottawas were the same which had once 418 lived on the shores of Chagouamigon Bay, and had been driven away by the Sioux.¹ While they lived in perfect harmony, they did not speak the same language. The Hurons were separated by a palisade. The settlement of Mackinaw on the mainland was at that time well fortified. The pickets of the outside circle were of pine and about thirty feet high. The second circle was a foot from the former, the third, four feet from the second, three feet and a half in diameter, and fifteen or sixteen feet high. The pickets were closely planted, with loop holes at certain distances. The Indian cabins were arched, made by planting poles, bending them at the top, and fastening with the roots of the birch. They were covered with the bark of fir or cedar trees. They were one hundred or one hundred and thirty feet long, twenty-four wide, and twenty in height. At each end was an opening.

1 Margry, vol. v. p. 80. For description of Hurons at Chagouamigon, see page 405.

TRADE WITH UPPER INDIANS RESUMED.

In May, 1692, Frontenac determined to obtain the furs which had accumulated at Mackinaw, and Lt' d Argenteuil with eighteen Canadians, who undertook the voyage in the hope of a handsome reward, bore dispatches to Louvigny, the officer at the post, ordering him to send down not only the peltries, but the two hundred Frenchmen who were dispersed among the upper tribes. On the 17th of August, more than two hundred canoes arrived at Montreal with furs, Indians, and Frenchmen. In the language of a "Narrative of that period,² "It is impossible to conceive the joy of the public in beholding such a vast quantity of riches. For several years Canada had been impatiently waiting for this prodigious heap of beaver, which was reported to be at Missilimakinac. The merchant, the

2 *Occurrences* of 1692–93, N.Y. Col. Docs. ix. 569.

419 farmer, and other individuals who might have some peltries there, were dying of hunger, with property they did not enjoy. Credit was exhausted, and the apprehension universal, that the enemy would become masters, on the way, of the last resource of the country."

Frontenac came down from Quebec, and on the sixth of September, which was Sunday, he entertained the principal chiefs, and the next day distributed presents, and made arrangements for the reoccupation of the Northwest.

TRADING POST ESTABLISHED AT CHAGOUAMIGON BY LE SUEUR.

Pierre Le Sueur was sent to remain at Chagouamigon, and the *Narrative of Occurrences* of 1692–93 writes that he was "to endeavor to maintain the peace lately concluded between the Sauteurs and the Sioux. This is of the greatest consequence, as it is now the sole pass by which access can be had to the latter nation, whose trade is very profitable, the country to the south being occupied by the Foxes and the Mascontins, who have

Library of Congress

already several times plundered the French, under pretence that they were carrying ammunition to the Sioux their ancient enemies. These frequent interruptions would have been punished ere this, had we not been occupied elsewhere. Le Sueur it is to be hoped will facilitate the northern route for us, by means of the great influence he possesses among the Sioux.”¹

¹ Pierre Le Sueur was the son of a Frenchman from Artois, and in 1657 was born. In company with Nicholas Perrot, by way of the Wisconsin, he visited the Upper Mississippi, and in 1689 was at Fort St. Antoine on the Wisconsin side of Lake Pepin, when Perrot took formal possession of the country. In the *Proces Verbal* the Minnesota River is for the first time called St. Pierre. As the post at the mouth of the Wisconsin in a map of 1688 is called Fort St. Nicolas in compliment to Perrot, and as the Assineboine River was once called St. Charles, in compliment to Charles Beauharnois, Governor of Canada, and the St. Croix after a voyageur of that name, it has been supposed that the St. Pierre. River was called after the baptismal name of Pierre Le Sueur. In 1690, he married Marguelite Messier, the first cousin of Pierre Lemoyne, the Sieur D'Iberville, who was the first Governor of Louisiana.

420

OJIBWAYS SETTLE AT CHAGOUAMIGON.

It is supposed, that at this time, the Ojibways began to concentrate in a village, upon the shores of Chagouamigon Bay. It was the interest of the French to draw them as far away as possible from the influence of English traders, who had appeared in the vicinity of Mackinaw.

A deputation of the Indians, around Mackinaw, arrived at Montreal, in the summer of 1694, and went back with a number of traders, about the end of September. The convoy was commanded by Sieur Delamothe Cadillac, captain of marines, on his way to relieve Sieur de Louvigny.

Library of Congress

Sieur Le Sueur arrived at Montreal, on the 15th of July, 1695, with five Frenchmen, and a party of Lake Superior Indians, as well as a Sioux Indian and squaw, the first who ever visited Montreal.¹

¹ *Narrative of Occurrences 1694–95*, N. Y. Col. Does. ix. vol.

CHINGOUABÉ, OJIBWAY CHIEF IN MONTREAL.

The Indians were much impressed, by witnessing the army, under Chevalier Cresafi, distinguished by ancestry and bravery, march through the streets on their way to Lake Ontario. On the 18th of July they were formally received by Governor Frontenac, in presence of the principal persons of the town. Chingouabé, chief of the Sauteurs (Ojibways) said: “That he was come to pay his respects to Onontio, in the name of the young warriors of Point Chagouamigon, and to thank him for having given them some Frenchmen to dwell with them; and to testify their sorrow for one Jobin, a Frenchman who was killed at a feast. It occurred accidentally not maliciously. We came to ask, a favor of you. We are allies of the Scion. Some Outagamis or Mascoutens have been killed. The Sciou came to mourn with us. Let us act, father, and take revenge. Le Sueur alone, who is acquainted with the language of the one and the other, can serve us. We ask that he return with us.”

421

GOVERNOR FRONTENAC'S REPLY TO CHINGOUABÉ

After the council was over, the Indians passed several days in trading their furs, and wondering at the ways of the white man, but on the 29th, they were called together again, and Frontenac replied to the Ojibway chief: “Chingouabé, my son, I am very glad to have learned, by the thanks you present me, for having giving you some Frenchmen to reside with your nation, that you are sensible of the advantages you derive from the articles they convey you; and to behold your family now clothed like my other children, instead of

Library of Congress

wearing bear skins as you formerly were in the habit of doing. If you wish me to continue sending you the same aid, and to increase it more hereafter, you must also resolve to listen attentively to my voice; to obey the orders that will be given to you in my name, by Le Sueur, whom I again send to command at Chagouamigon, and to think only of making war on the Iroquois tribe, your mortal enemy, as well as the deadly foe of all the upper nations, and who has become mine, because I have taken your part, and prevented him oppressing you.

“Embarrass not yourself then with new quarrels, nor meddle with those the Sioux have with the Foxes and Mascoutens, and others, except for the purpose of allaying their resentments. I reply not to the regret you have expressed to me, for the misfortune that overtook the Frenchman named Jobin, because I am informed that it was an accident, and that you are not to blame therefore.”

REPLY OF CHINGOUABÉ.

After the distribution of presents, Chingouabé said: “Father! it is not the same with us, as with you. When you command, all the French obey you and go to war. But I shall not be heeded, and obeyed by my nation in like manner. Therefore I cannot answer, except for myself, 422 and those immediately allied or related to me. Nevertheless I shall communicate your pleasure to all the Sauteurs, and in order that you may be satisfied of what I say, I will invite the French who are in my village to be witnesses of what I shall tell my people in your behalf.”

Two days after this the Ojibways left for Lake Superior.¹

¹ N.Y. Col. Docs. ix. 612.

FRENCH TRADERS PUSH WESTWARD.

Library of Congress

Owing to the hostility of the Sacs and Foxes, for some time after the year 1700, the French had little intercourse with the Ojibways. By the Treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, the French relinquished all posts on Hudson's Bay to the English, and it was necessary to check Indians disposed to go there to trade. In 1716, therefore, the Canadian authorities decided to open the Lake Superior trade, and seek for a sea toward the west. A dispatch of the 7th of December to the French governor uses this language:—

“MM. de Vaudreuil and Begon having written last year that the discovery of the Sea of the West would be advantageous to the colony, it was agreed that to reach it M. de Vaudreuil should establish three posts which he had proposed, and he was notified at the same time to have them established without any cost to the king, seeing that the commerce would indemnify those who founded them; and to send a detailed estimate of the cost of continuing the discovery. They stated in reply that M. Vaudreuil in the month of July last [1717] had caused Sieur de la Noüe, lieutenant, with eight canoes to carry out this project of discovery. He was ordered to establish the first post at the river of Kamanistiquoya, and the north part of Lake Superior, after which he was to go to Takamunigen, toward the lake of the Christineaux to build the second, and 423 to acquire the necessary information from the Indians to find the third, at the Lake of the Assinipoëlles [Winnepeg].

“This journey costs the king nothing because those engaged in it will be remunerated for their outlay by the trade which they will engage in; but to follow up the discovery it is absolutely necessary that his Majesty should bear the expenses because the persons employed in it will have to give up all idea of trade. They estimated that fifty good canoes will be required; of these, twenty-four will be engaged in making the discovery from the Lake of the Assinipoëlles to the Sea of the West. They calculated the wages of these men at 800 francs a year each, and estimated that the expenditure as well for provisions and canoes, and for goods for presents will amount to f. 29,028.10

Library of Congress

There will have to be added for supplementary outfit, 600 francs for each of the six officers employed in the discovery 3,600.10

Total, 32,623.20

As it will take about two years to make this journey, they estimate the expenditure may amount to fifty thousand francs.”¹

1 *French MSS.* 3d series, vol. vi., Parliament Library, Ottawa. Lindsey's *Boundaries of Ontario*, pp. 206, 207; Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario*, pp. 231, 232.

ST. PIERRE AT CHAGOUAMIGON BAY.

Lt. Robertel le la Noüe late in the fall of 1717 was at Kaministiquoya and found few Indians. He wrote by a French trader, who was at Point Chagouamigon, to the chief of the Sioux, in the hope of affecting a peace with the Christineaux.

Captain St. Pierre² and Ensign Linctot in September,

² Captain Paul Legardeur Saint Pierre was the son of J. Baptiste Legardeur, who on the 11th of July, 1656, had married Marguerite, the daughter of the brave explorer Jean Nicolet, the first white man who in 1634–35 visited Green Bay and vicinity in Wisconsin.

⁴²⁴ 1718, were ordered to Chagouamigon, because the Ojibway chief there, and also at Keweenaw, were threatening war against the Foxes. Upon De l'Isle's Map, revised by Buache in 1745, a French establishment (Maison Française) appears at Chagouamigon Bay.

The authorities of Canada¹ on the 14th of November, 1719, wrote: “The Sieur Vandreuil has not received any letter from Sieur de la Noüe: he has only learnt by way of Chagouamigon, which is in the south extremity of Lake Superior, where Sieur St. Pierre has been in command since last year, that Sieur Pachot had passed there, on his way to

Library of Congress

the Sioux, where he was sent by the Sieur de la Noüe, on the subject of the peace he was trying to bring about between this nation and that of the Christenaux, but that Pachot had not returned to Chagouamigon when the canoes left.”

1 Ottawa MSS., 3d series, vol. vii.

OJIBWAYS VISIT GOVERNOR LONGEUIL.

Linctot, who had succeeded Saint Pierre in the command at Chagouamigon, made peace between the Sioux and Ojibways, and when the latter visited Montreal, they were thus addressed by Longeuil, then Governor of Canada: “I am rejoiced, my children of the Sauteurs, at the peace which Monsieur De Linctot has procured for you, with the Sioux your neighbors, also, on account of the prisoners you have restored to them. I desire him, in the letter, which I now give you, my son Cabina, for him, that he maintain this peace, and support the happy reunion which now appears to exist between the Sioux and you. I hope he will succeed in it, if you are attentive to his words, and if you follow the lights he will show you.

“My heart is sad on account of the blows which the Foxes of Green Bay have given you, of which you have 425 just spoken, and of which the commandant has written in his letter. It appears to me that Heaven has revenged you for your losses, since it has given you the flesh of a young Fox to eat.

“You have done well to listen to the words of your commandant to keep quiet and respect the words of your Father.... There is coming from France a new Father, who will not fail to inform you, as soon as he shall be able to take measures and stop the bad affair which the Foxes wish to cause in future.”

ALLEGED COPPER MINE AT CHAGOUAMIGON.

Library of Congress

In the year 1730, an Indian brought to the French post, at Chagouamigon Bay, a nugget of copper, which led to the supposition that there was a mine of this metal in the vicinity. On the 18th of October, 1781, the Canadian authorities wrote to the French government that they had received no satisfactory report of the situation or quality of the mine alleged to be in the neighborhood of the "Bay of Chagouamigon," and that the Indians were very superstitious about such discoveries, and were unwilling to reveal.

FIRST SAILING-VESSEL ON LAKE SUPERIOR

The officer in command at Chagouamigon at this time was Sieur La Ronde Denis, who had received a concession to work copper mines. He and his son Ensign Denis de la Ronde were zealous in this business, and the latter explored one of the islands. A dispatch of the day mentions that La Ronde "had been ordered with his son to build at the river St. Anne a house of logs two hundred feet long, with a fort and curtain, which he assures us he has executed. He has had other expenses on account of the mines, such as voyages and presents for the Indians. He has constructed at his own expense a bark of forty tons on Lake Superior, and was obliged to transport in canoes, 426 as far as Sault Ste. Marie, the rigging and materials for the vessel. The post Chagouamigon was given him as a gratuity to defray expenses."

In 1736, the Governor of Canada wrote to France that there was increased hope of obtaining copper from Lake Superior, and that the Indians had reported that a certain isle, which appears on the new map, abounded in copper. "If this were true they will pass by the Rivière au Fer,¹ from which had been taken the lumps of copper which were sent this year. The son of De la Ronde will visit this isle and make a report." Allusion is made in the same communication, that the Renards and their allies hunted in the vicinity of the River Tounagaune [Ontanagon], and it was recommended that the region should be explored by an experienced miner.

Library of Congress

1 On modern maps still called Iron River. N. Bellin, in a map of Lake Superior, in Charlevoix's *Nouvelle France*, Paris, A.D. 1744, calls the stream Piouabic or R. an Cuivre. Baraga gives Miskwabik, as the Ojibway word for copper. Lahontan gives Piouabic for iron, which Carver writes Pewawbick. Iron River is east of Bois Brulé River.

During the winter of 1740, La Ronde was in Canada and ordered to return to Chagouamigon. On his arrival at Mackinaw, in the spring, he was so sick that he returned to Montreal.²

2 Letter of Beauharnois among Martin MSS. in Ottawa Library.

On Bellin's Map of 1744, the island opposite Bayfield, now called Madaline, is named La Ronde.³

3 The first Sieur de La Ronde was Pierre Denis or Denys, born A.D. 1630, married in 1655 to Catharine Le Neuf, of Quebec. It was his grandson who received the monopoly of the fur trade at Chagouamigon.

VÉRANDERIE EXPLORES WEST OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

The Sieur Véranderie, who had been stationed in 1727 at Lake Nepigon, was the first to perfect an expedition for the exploration of the chain of lakes which form the northern boundary of Minnesota. Three of his sons, and 427 a nephew, in the autumn of 1781, succeeded in reaching Rainy Lake; and the next year, the Lake of the Woods, and year after year they pushed westward, until two of his sons in January, 1743, were the first Frenchmen to reach the Rocky Mountains.¹

1 Sulte, in an article in *Nouvelles Soirees Canadiennes* for January, 1884, published at Montreal, mentions that this name is spelled in documents in fourteen different ways, among others Veranderie, Verandrie, Verendrie, Verenderie, and Verendrye. He also gives the extract from the parish register of Three Rivers as to the baptism of this explorer.

Library of Congress

Freely translated it reads "The 18th day of November, 1684, by me F. G. de Brullon, cure of the parish church Notre Dame of Three Rivers has been baptised in said church, Pierre Gualtier, son of René Gualtier Esquire, the Sieur de Varenne and Governor of Three Rivers, and Marie Boucher, his wife. The infant was born on the 17th of November. His godfather was Pierre Boucher his grandfather, in the place of his son Lambert, and the godmother was Magdeleine Gualtier his sister.

Véranderie's brother Louis was in 1689 an ensign in Canada. In the register of Varennes in 1702, 1704, 1707, the name of the explorer appears as Pierre Gauthier de Varennes, Sieur de "Boumois." In a document of 1707 he is called Sieur de Boumois de la Veranderie. After this he went to Europe, and was on Sept. 11, 1709, at the battle of Malplaquet. Returning to Canada he was married at Quebec, October 29, 1712 to Anne Dandonneau.

OJIBWAYS FOLLOW THE FRENCH.

Until after 1736, the Ojibways did not have any foothold west of Lake Superior.

There is extant a statement of the position of the tribes of Lake Superior and vicinity in 1736, which that year was prepared at Mackinaw.²

2 N.Y. Col. Doc. vol. ix.

LAKE SUPERIOR OJIBWAYS, 1736.

At the *Saut St. Marie* were the Sauteurs (Ojibways) to the number of thirty men, they were in two divisions, and had for a device the Crane and the Catfish.

At *Kiouanau* (Keweenaw) were forty Sauteurs, with the device of the Crane and the Stag.

At *Point Chagouamigon* there were one hundred and fifty Sauteurs.

TECAMIOUEN, RAINY LAKE.

Here there were one hundred Indians, not Ojibways, of the same tribe as those at Lake Nepigon.

LAKE OF THE WOODS.

The Christenaux to the number of two hundred were in this vicinity. Their device was the Wild Goose.

LAKE OUNEPAGON (WINNIPEG).

In this region were Christenaux to the number of sixty, and south of the lake one hundred and fifty Assinipoëls or Assineboines.

While twenty-one of Véranderie's party, in June, 1736, were camped upon an isle in Lake of the Woods, they were surprised by a band of the Sioux, and among the killed were five voyageurs, a priest, and a son of Véranderie.¹ Four years after this attack, Joseph Le France, a half-breed born at Saut St. Marie, whose mother was an Ojibway, in 1740, by the north shore of Lake Superior and the chain of lakes to Winnipeg, reached the Hudson Bay Company posts, and in his narrative he mentions the tribes he found.

¹ After this it was French policy to encourage the Ojibways to expel the Sioux between Lake Superior and Mississippi River.

On the map prepared in 1737, to show Véranderie's route, the Red River of the North, and the point of the Big Woods thereon, and Red Lake are marked, and the Christineaux are represented around Lake Winnipeg, and the Assineboines in the valley of the Red River.

After the discovery of the Rocky Mountains, Véranderie prepared to send his sons toward the Saskatchewan River. They were succeeded by Jacques Legardeur Saint Pierre,²

Library of Congress

2 Saint Pierre, born in 1701, was the son of Paul Legardeur, the Sieur St. Pierre, born in 1661. His grandfather married Marguerite the daughter of Jean Nicolet, the brave explorer, who as early as 1634 reached Green Bay, Wisconsin. See Neill's *History of Minnesota*, 5th edition, 1883, p. 863. His interview with Washington is well known. He was killed in battle in September, 1755, near Lake George. His widow married the noted La Corne.

429 whose party went along that river, and built in 1752 Fort Jonquiere, toward the Rocky Mountains. The Christenaux burned down Fort La Reine on the Assineboine River, and attempted to kill Saint Pierre.

Marquis Du Quesne, Governor of Canada, recalled Saint Pierre, and sent him to the forests of Pennsylvania. St. Luc de la Corne then took charge of the posts beyond Lake Superior.¹

1 La Corne was at Ticonderoga, and at Quebec in the battles with the British. During the American war for independence he was with the Indian allies of the British, at the battle of Saratoga. In a letter of Thomas Jefferson's dated Oct. 11, 1775, published for the first time, in Nov. 1868, in Dawson's *Historical Magazine*, he alludes to La Corne in these words: "This St. Luc is a great Seigneur amongst the Canadians, and almost absolute with the Indians, he has been our most bitter enemy, and is acknowledged to be the greatest of all scoundrels: to be assured of this I need only mention to you that he is the ruffian, who, when during the late war Fort William Henry was surrendered to the French and Indians, on condition of saving the lives of the garrison, had every soul murdered in cold blood."

St. Luc on Sept. 3, 1757, married Marie Joseph Gualtier, the widow of Legardeur de St. Pierre.

FRENCH POSTS WEST OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

Bougainville, an Aide de Camp of General Montcalm, in a memoir on the state of Canada, published in 1757, gives a good account of the posts west of Lake Superior. He writes: "La

Library of Congress

Mer d'Ouest *is a post* that includes the Forts St. Pierre, St. Charles, Bourbon, de la Reine, and Dauphin, Poskoyac, and des Prairies, all of which are built with palisades that can give protection only against Indians.” Fort St. Pierre is described as on Rainy Lake; Fort St. Charles as on a peninsula that goes far into the Lake of the Woods; Fort Bourbon, 150 leagues from Fort St. Charles, at the entrance of the Poskoyac or Saskatchewan into Lake Winnipeg. Fort La Reine was on the right bank of the Assineboine River, 60 leagues from Fort Bourbon; Fort Dauphin 80 leagues from La Reine. Fort Poskoyac was 430 built on the river of that name 180 leagues from Dauphin. The Fort des Prairies is eighty leagues from Poskoyac on the banks of the same river.

This post, writes Bougainville, “called ‘The Sea of the West,’ embracing as it did the whole country from Rainy Lake to the Rocky Mountains, and from North Saskatchewan to the Missouri, was in the gift of the Governor General of Canada, and was bestowed by him upon his favorites. It produced yearly from 800 to 400 bundles of furs, and the commanding officer leased the post for the annual sum of 8000 francs.”

OJIBWAY HOSTILITY TO THE FRENCH.

During the year 1746, under English influence, the Ojibways of Lake Superior became unfriendly to the French. Two canoes from Montreal, on their way to Lake Superior, were attacked at La Cloche, all isle in Lake Huron, by Ojibways. Members of the same tribe at Grosse Isle, near Mackinaw, stabbed a Frenchman, and the horses and cattle at Mackinaw were killed, and to prevent surprise, the officer of the fort was obliged to beat the “tap-too.”¹ Governor Galissoniere of Canada, in a dispatch of October 1748, to Count Maurepas in charge of the colonies of France² wrote: “Voyageurs robbed and maltreated at Sault Ste. Marie, and elsewhere on Lake Superior; in fine there appears to be no security anywhere.”

1 N. Y. vol. Does. vol. x. p. 119.

Library of Congress

2 N.Y. Col. Does. x. 182.

LAST FRENCH OFFICER AT CHAGOUAMIGON.

The last French officer at Chagouamigon Point was Hertel de Beaubassin. When an ensign of infantry, in 1748, with some Indian allies he made an incursion toward Albany, and thirty houses of unsuspecting settlers were burned. In August, 1749, he came to Albany³ by direction

3 N.Y. Col. Does. vi. 526.

431 of the Governor of Canada, relative to the exchange of prisoners. After this he was the commandant at La Pointe,¹ and left in 1756, with Ojibways, as allies for the French, in the war against the English of New York and New England.²

1 N.Y. Col. Docs. x. 424.

2 De Ramelia was in 1744 commandant at Nepigon..In 1747, Du Plessis de Moramont was in command at Kamanetiguia, afterwards Fort William. In 1752 Beaujeu de Ville Monde was there. The next year he was sent to Mackinaw. He did not die until June 5, 1802, in Canada.

TRAGIC OCCURRENCE AT LA POINTE ISLAND.

The editor of the Detroit Gazette, on the 30th of August, 1822, published³ an account of a tragedy which is said to have occurred on Cadotte's, Middle, or Montreal Island of the old voyageurs, now called La Pointe or Madaline Island. The trader William Morrison had related the following story to a friend.

3 The entire article has been reprinted in the 8th volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*.

Library of Congress

In the autumn of 1760, there was only one trader on the Island, with his wife from Montreal, a young son, and a servant. During the next winter the servant killed the trader and his wife and son. When traders, in the spring, returned to the post they inquired for the missing trader and family. The servant said that in March they went to a sugar camp, and had never come back. After the snow melted they found the bodies buried near the post. The servant was then seized, and in a canoe sent to Montreal for trial. When the Indians, in charge of the canoe, reached the Longe Saut, of the St. Lawrence River, they learned of the advance of the English forces in Canada, and with the prisoner became a war party against the English and allied Indians. Not being successful, they commenced the return voyage, bringing the murderer with them. When they approached the Sault Ste. Marie, 432 they stopped, and held a dance. Each one struck the post, and told the story of his exploits. The murderer, when he came up, boastfully narrated that he had killed the trader and his family. The next day the chief called his men aside, and said that the white man should never have boasted of murdering his employer and family: and added, "We boast of having killed our enemies, never our friends. How he is going back to the place where we live, and perhaps he will again murder. He is a bad man; neither we nor our friends are safe. If you are of my mind, we will strike this man on the head."

They then invited him to a feast, and urged him to eat all he could, and as soon as he ceased to eat he was killed. The chief cut up the body and boiled it for another feast, but the Indians refused to partake of it, and said: "He was not worthy to be eaten; he was worse than a bad dog. We will not taste him, for if we do, we shall be worse than dogs."

OJIBWAYS AT TICONDEROGA A.D. 1757.

As the French began to attack the settlements of New England and New York, the upper Indians offered their services. Governor Beauharnois, under date of the 28th of October, 1745, wrote to the French government: "Sieur de la Corne, the elder, whom I have sent to command at Missilimakinak, wrote to me on the 29th of August last that at that post sixty Outaouacs and Saulteaux applied to him, for M. Noyelle, Jr., who is deputy there,

to conduct them to Montreal, in order to attack the English; I have reason to expect them from day to day.”

Among the Indians at Ticonderoga with the French army in 1757, with La Plante, De Lorimer and Chêne as interpreter, were thirty-three Ojibways from Chagouamigon, twenty-three of Beaver, fourteen of Coasekimagen, thirtyseven of the Carp, and fifty of Cabibonké.

433

LAST FRENCH OFFICER AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

Louis Legardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny, belonged to one of the most distinguished families of Canada. As early as 1632 his great-grandfather came to Canada. His grandfather was the eldest of twenty-three brothers. His father, Paul Legardeur Sieur St. Pierre, after the treaty of Utrecht, in 1718, re-established the post at Chagouamigon, and in 1738 died. Louis was born in 1727, and at the age of fourteen entered the service. In 1746 he was in an expedition toward Albany, and then went to Mackinaw, and in 1748 returned with eighteen canoes of Indians. With these and other Indians he made an attack near Schenectady, and eleven prisoners and twenty-five scalps were taken.

In 1749 he was again at Mackinaw, the second in command. His brother, Jacques Legardeur St. Pierre, was in command, the same who was once in charge at Lake Pepin, and afterwards, in 1753, at a post near Erie, Pa., where Washington visited him, bearing a dispatch from the Governor of Virginia.

The grasping and miserly Governor Jonquiere in 1750 gave to his nephew, Captain De Bonne, and Chevalier de Repentigny, a grant at Sault Ste. Marie of six leagues front upon the portage by six leagues in depth, bordering on the river below the rapids.

Repentigny, brought J. B. Cadet¹ and other hired persons there, to revive a post, which since 1689 had been abandoned.

¹ See page 448.

GOVERNOR LA JONQUIERE'S LETTER.

The letter of Governor La Jonquiere, to the French Colonial Minister, dated at Quebec, October 5, 1751, explains the object of the grant, and is given in full:— 28

434

“My Lord: By my letter of the 24th of August last year, I had the honor to let you know, that in order to thwart the movements, that the English do not cease to make, in order to seduce the Indian natives of the north, I had sent the Sieur Chevalier de Repentigny to the Sault Ste. Marie, in order to make there an establishment, at his own expense; to build there a palisade fort, to stop the English; to interrupt the commerce they carry on; stop and prevent the continuation of the ‘talk,’ and of the presents which the English send to those natives to corrupt them, to put them entirely in their interests, and inspire them with feelings of hate and aversion for the French.

“Moreover, I had in view in that establishment to secure a retreat to the French travellers, especially to those who trade in the northern post, and for that purpose, to clear the lands which are proper for the production of Indian corn there, and to subserve thereby the victualling necessary to the people of said post and even to the needs of the voyageurs.

“The said Sieur de Repentigny has fulfilled in all points the first objects of my orders. As soon as he arrived at Missilimakinac, the chief of the Indians of the Sault Ste. Marie gave to him four strings of wampum, and begged of him to send them to me, to express how sensible they were for the attention I had for them, by sending the Sieur de Repentigny, whom they had already adopted as their nephew, which is a mark of distinction for an officer amongst the Indians, to signify to them my will in all cases to direct their steps and their actions.

"I have given orders to said Sieur de Repentigny to answer at the 'talk' of that chief, by the same number of strings of wampum, and to assure him and his natives of the satisfaction I have at their good dispositions.

435

REPENTIGNY'S RECEPTION AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

"The Indians received him at the Sault Ste. Marie with much joy. He kindled my fire in that village, by a necklace, which these Indians received with feelings of thankfulness. He labored first to assure himself of the most suspected of the Indians. The Indian named Cacosagane told him in confidence, that there was a necklace in the village from the English: the said Sieur de Repentigny succeeded in withdrawing that necklace which had been in the village for five years, and which had been asked for in vain until now. This necklace was carried into all the Saulteur villages, and others at the south and the north of Lake Superior, to make all these nations enter into the conspiracy concerted between the English and the Five Nations, after which it was brought and remains at Sault Ste. Marie. Fortunately for us this conspiracy was revealed and had not any consequence....

REPENTIGNY'S FORT.

"He arrived too late last year at the Sault Ste. Marie to fortify himself well; however he secured himself in a sort of fort large enough to receive the traders of Missilimakinac. The weather was dreadful in September, October, and November. The snow fell one foot deep on the 10th of October, which caused him a great delay. He employed his hired men during the whole winter in cutting 1100 pickets of 15 feet for his fort, with the doublings, and the timber necessary for the construction of three houses, one of them 30 feet long by 20 wide, and two others 25 feet long and the same width as the first. His fort is entirely finished with the exception of a redoubt of oak, which he is to have made 12 feet square, and which shall reach the same distance above the gate of the fort. His fort is 110 feet square.

FARMING AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

“As for the cultivation of the lands: the Sieur de Repentigny had a bull, two bullocks, three cows, two heifers, one horse and a mare from Missilimakinac. He could not on his arrival make clearing of lands, for the work of his fort had entirely occupied his hired men. Last spring he cleared off the small trees and bushes within the range of the fort. He has engaged a Frenchman, who married at the Sault Ste. Marie an Indian woman, to take a farm; they have cleared it up and sowed it, and without a frost, they will gather 30 to 35 sacks of corn. The said Sieur de Repentigny so much feels it his duty to devote himself to the cultivation of these lands, that he has already entered into a bargain for two slaves,¹ whom he will employ to take care of the corn that he will gather upon these lauds.”

¹ The slaves were Indians. In the Mackinaw parish register it is recorded that Louis Herbert, a child slave of Chevalier de Repentigny, was baptized. On July 13, 1758, at Mackinaw he stood as godfather for Mariame, a slave of Langlade.

APPROVAL OF COLONIAL MINISTER AT PARIS.

In a letter to Governor Duquesne, the successor of Jonquiere, the French minister for the colonies, wrote from Versailles on June 16, 1752: “By one of my despatches, written last year to M. de la Jonquiere, I intimated to him that I had approved of the construction of a fort at Sault Ste. Marie, and the project of cultivating the land, and raising cattle there. We cannot but approve the dispositions which have been made, but it must be considered that the cultivation of the lands, and the multiplication of cattle must be the principal object of it, and that trade must be only accessory to it. As it can hardly be expected *that any other grain than corn will grow there, it is necessary, 437 at least for awhile, to stick to it, and not to persevere stubbornly in trying to raise wheat.*”¹

Library of Congress

1 Millions of bushels of wheat from the region west and north of Lake Superior pass every year in steamers and other vessels through the ship canal at Sault Ste. Marie.

Governor Duquesne, in a despatch to France, dated October 13, 1754, writes: "Chevalier de Repentigny, who commands at Sault Ste. Marie, is busily engaged with the settlement of his post, which is essential to stop the Indians who come down from Lake Superior to go to Chegoneu [Oswego, N. Y.]." In the campaign of 1755, he served under Captain St. Pierre, in command of 600 Canadians, and was in the battle at the head of Lake George. In 1756, he formed a partnership with De Langy [Langlade], and another to continue the fur trade at Sault Ste. Marie, he to furnish the goods and receive a third of the profits. He brought from Mackinaw this year 700 Indians to aid the French. In 1758 he appears to have been again at Mackinaw.² The next year he was with Montcalm at Quebec.

2 On July 13th he was present at the baptism of a child.

He was assigned to guarding the pass at the Falls of Montmorency. One night four Ojibways sought the English camp at Ange Gardienr and killed two men. On the 26th of July, 1759, at dawn, Wolfe sent troops to dislodge him, and he retreated with the loss of twelve killed and wounded. In the spring of 1760, he was in the battle at Sillery three miles above Quebec and distinguished himself. The Governor of Canada wrote: "Repentigny was at the head of the centre, and with his brigade resisted the enemy's centre." "The only brigade before whom the enemy did not gain an inch of ground." In 1762 he was with troops in New Foundland, and taken prisoner. In 1764 he visited France, and from 1769 to 1778 was commandant at Isle of Rhé. From 1778 to 1782 was with the "Regiment d'Amérique" at Guadeloupe. In 1783 438 was appointed Governor of Senegal, Africa. In October, 1785, he visited Paris, on furlough, and there on the 9th of October, 1786, died.

II. OJIBWAYS UNDER BRITISH RULE.

Library of Congress

The French garrison at Niagara, under Chevalier Pouchot, on July 25th, 1759, at seven in the morning, surrendered to the English, under Sir William Johnson. The latter in his journal, under date of the 30th of July, writes: "A Chippeway chief¹ came to me with Mr. Francis in order to speak to me." On the 23d of August, he again spoke to a Chippeway chief, Tequakareigh, and with a string and two belts of wampum welcomed him, and shook him by the hand. He then gave him a black belt and recommended hunting and trading as far more profitable than quarrelling with the English, and invited him and all of the tribes in his vicinity to visit Niagara and Oswego, where they would find a large assortment of goods for their use. The chief assured him he would never again strike the English, and took from his neck a large French medal, and received an English one, and a gorget of silver.

¹ Waub-o-jeeg, or White Fisher, the grandfather of Henry R. Schoolcraft's first wife, who died at Chagouamigon (La Pointe), in 1793, is said to have received at Niagara a silver gorget from Sir William Johnson.

In September, 1761, Sir William Johnson was at Detroit, and on the 11th he writes, that he was visited by "about forty of the Chippawas who had just arrived, came to see me, and made a friendly speech, with a string of wampum, assuring me of their firm resolution of abiding with us, 439 and complying with everything proposed by me, and agreed to, by the rest. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and rum; then they departed."

SILVER CROSSES DISTRIBUTED.

On the 17th of the same month he made the following entry in his journal: "I counted out, and delivered to Mr. Croghan some silver works, viz., one hundred and fifty ear-bobs, two hundred brooches or breast-buckles, and ninety large crosses, all of silver, to send to Ensign Gorrel of the Royal Americans, posted at La Bay [Green Bay] on Lake Michigan, in order to purchase therewith some curious skills and furs for General Amherst and myself."¹

Library of Congress

1 Silver ear-bobs and silver crosses were articles of trade, and as common at a frontier post as similar articles in gold, in the modern jewelry store. The wearing of the cross by a savage had as much significance, as when worn by a child of fashion. In the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society is a silver cross presented by W. J. Abernethy of Minneapolis, taken from a mound in Wisconsin.

In the diary of Matthew Clarkson, published in 4th vol. of Schoolcraft's *Hist. and Stat. Condition of Indian Tribes*, p. 297, is the following entry: "Account of silver truck Capt. Long left with me on the 28th of February, 1767, the day when he went from the Kaskaskias: 174 small crosses, 84 nose crosses, 33 long drop-nose and ear-bobs, 126 small brooches, 38 large brooches, 40 rings, 2 wide wrist-bands, 6 narrow, scalloped wrist-bands, 8 narrow plain, 4 half-moon gorgets, 3 large, 6 full moon, 9 hair-plates. 17 hair-bobs."

MACKINAW CAPTURED BY OJIBWAYS.

The occupation of Mackinaw in 1761, by English soldiers, was neither agreeable to the French Canadian traders, nor to the Indians. The conspiracy of Pontiac extended from Lake Erie to Lake Superior, and on the 4th of June, the Ojibways under the leadership of Match-e-ke-wis, a bold young warrior, surprised the fort.² Etherington, the officer in command, on the 11th of June wrote to Lt. Gorrel of Royal Americans at Green Bay: "This place was taken by

2 For a notice of Match-e-ke-wis by Dr. L. C. Draper, see *Wis. His. Soc. Col.*, vol. vii. p. 188.

440 surprise on the fourth instant by the Chippewas at which time Lieut. Jamett, and twenty more were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, but our good friends, the Ottowas, have taken Lieut. Lesley, me, and eleven men off their hands, and have promised to reinstate us again. You will, therefore, on the receipt of this, which I send by a canoe of Ottawas, set out with all your garrison and what English traders you have with you,

Library of Congress

and come, with the Indians who give you this, who will conduct you safe to me....Tell the savages that you are obliged to come here, to open the road which the Chippewas have shut up," etc.

At the time Mackinaw was surprised, the siege of Detroit by Pontiac was taking place. Among his men was a band of Saginaw Ojibways. On the 18th of June, eight Ojibways came from Mackinaw, one of whom was Nonchanek or Kinonchanek, the son of the head chief, bringing news of the capture at Mackinaw; he remained but a few days, and after his departure it was rumored that he would soon return with eight hundred warriors. Kinonchanek, however, did not approve of the course of Pontiac, in slaughtering so many.

OJIBWAYS CONFER WITH SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

It was now necessary for the English to assert their power in the northwest, and conciliate the tribes. During the spring of 1764, Match-e-ke-wis, the leader of the assault on Mackinaw, came to the house of J. B. Cadot,¹ the Canadian trader at Sault Ste. Marie, in a canoe full of warriors, with evil intent towards Alexander Henry, an English trader, who was at the house on a visit, but while there a messenger, and some other Indians, arrived with a request that they should meet Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in council at Niagara. A council

¹ Stone's *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii. p. 218.

441 was called, and the head messenger with a belt of wampum said: "My-friends and brothers! I am come with this belt, from our great Father, Sir William Johnson. He desired me to come to you, as his ambassador, and tell you that he is making a great feast, in common with your friends, the Six Nations, who have all made peace with the English. He advises you to seize this opportunity of 'doing the same, as you cannot otherwise fail of being destroyed; for the English are on their march, with a great army, which will be joined by different nations of Indians. In a word, before the fall of the leaf, they will be at Michillimaekinac, and the Six Nations with them."

After a great medicine dance, the sacred men had, as they alleged, a communication from the Great Turtle, one of their mightiest spirits, who said that, "Sir William Johnson would fill their canoes with presents; with blankets, kettles, guns, gunpowder, and shot, and large barrels of rum, such as the stoutest of the Indians would not be able to lift; and that every man would return in safety to his family."

On the 10th of June, 1764, a deputation left Sault Ste. Marie, accompanied by the trader Alexander Henry, and by way of Lake Simcoe and Toronto, reached Niagara and attended the grand council. On the 6th of August, Henry and his Ojibway companions, accompanied General Bradstreet's army on the way to Detroit. At this point Bradstreet, on the 7th of September, made a treaty with the Ojibways and some other tribes. The principal speaker of the Indians was Wasson, an Ojibway chief, who said to Bradstreet, "My brother, last year God forsook us. God has now opened our eyes, and we desire to be heard. It is God's will, our hearts are altered. It was God's will you had such fine weather to come to us. It is God's will also there should be peace, and tranquillity, over the face of the earth, and the waters."

442

MACKINAW REOCCUPIED BY THE ENGLISH.

After this, Captain Howard with a strong detachment was sent to reoccupy Mackinaw,¹ and English soldiers were once more seen at Green Bay and Sault Ste. Marie.

¹ The post was on the mainland, and it was not until the spring of 1780, that General Haldimand, in command at Quebec, issued an order for the removal of the post to the island.

ROGERS, IN 1766, COMMANDANT AT MACKINAW.

Major Robert Rogers was appointed commandant at Mackinaw, not long after the suppression of the Pontiac conspiracy. The son of an Irishman who had settled in New

Library of Congress

Hampshire, bold, cunning, unscrupulous, and uneducated, yet bright and quick, he had entered the provincial service, in 1755, and as captain of a company of scouts, or rangers, had rendered efficient service, in the war against the French, in Canada. In 1760, he left Montreal with troops to take possession of Detroit and other posts, in the name of the King of Great Britain. After the defeat of Pontiac, he applied for the command, at Mackinaw, which was reluctantly granted in 1766, and General Gage wrote to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to be careful not to place large sums of money in his hands.

Soon after his arrival, he began to hold secret meetings with the Indians, to obtain therefrom grants of land. He also sent agents to trade with distant tribes, one of whom was Jonathan Carver, who visited the Sioux. In the spring of 1767, Nathaniel Potter, who had been two years at Mackinaw, was sent to trade, and confer with the Ojibways of Lake Superior. Upon his return therefrom, Rogers disclosed to him a plan he had devised to make the region around the lakes a separate province, with himself the Governor, and wished Potter to go to England in 443 the interest of the project. He also said if he could not carry out his plan, he would retire among the French and Spanish on the Mississippi. The scheme was something like that of Aaron Burr at a later period, and Potter considering it treasonable, declined to have any connection with it, and reported the matter to the authorities at Montreal.

On the 11th of September, 1767, Sir William Johnson wrote to General Gage as follows: "Though I wrote to you, a few days ago, by Mr. Croghan, I could not avoid saying something again on the score of the vast expenses incurred, and still incurring at Michillimackinac, chiefly on pretence of making a peace between the Sioux and Chippeweighs." On August 17th, 1768, he writes to the Earl of Hillsborough: "Major Rogers brings a considerable charge against the Crown for mediating a peace between some tribes of Sioux and some Chippeweighs, which, had it been attended with success, would

Library of Congress

have been only interesting to a very few French, and others that had goods in that part of the Indian country.”

During this year, Rogers was placed under arrest, sent to Montreal, and tried by court martial, on charges of treason, for having proposed to deliver the post of Mackinaw to the Spaniards of Louisiana.¹

¹ In 1769, Rogers went to England and was imprisoned for debt. Afterwards he entered the service of the Dey of Algiers. In 1775, he was again in England, and in June, left Gravesend in a ship for Baltimore. In September, he was in Philadelphia, where he was arrested by the Committee of Safety, but was released on the 23d of the month, by giving his parol that he would not bear arms against the “American United Colonies.” He then went to New York City, and from thence visited his brother near Albany, Col. James Rogers. President Wheelock, of Dartmouth College, received a visit from him on the 13th of November. He told him that he had fought two battles in Algiers; and that he had come back to America to look after some large land grant made to him; that he was now on his way to visit his sister at Moorestown, and his wife at Merrimack River, whom he had not seen since he returned. He left the tavern where he stayed, the next day, without paying his bill of three shillings. On the 14th of December he was at Porter's tavern in Medford, Mass., and wrote a letter to General Washington asking for a pass to go unmolested, and in it used this language: “I love North America, it is my native country, and that of my family, and I intend to spend the evening of my days in it.” At this time he was in secret correspondence with Howe, the British General. By order of Washington, General Sullivan called upon him. He told Sullivan that he went from New York City to Stone Arabia, N. Y., where he tarried ten days, that then he went to Kent to visit a brother. After calling upon the President of Dartmouth College, he alleged that he visited his father at Pennicook, and from thence to Newburgh and Portsmouth. General Sullivan reported after examination: “I would advise, lest some blame might be laid upon your Excellency, in future, not to give him any other permit, but let him avail himself of those he has; and should he prove a traitor, let the blame rest upon those who enlarged him.” After this, he returned to

Library of Congress

Philadelphia, and was there at the time of the Declaration of Independence, but his actions were so suspicious that he was ordered to be arrested. He managed to escape, and in a letter from General Howe on Staten Island to Lord George Germaine, dated August 6, 1776, are these words: "Major Rogers having escaped to us from Philadelphia, is empowered to raise a battalion of rangers, which I hope may be useful in the course of the campaign." With the Queen's American Rangers, of which corps he was Lt. Colonel, he destroyed much property in West Chester Co., N. Y., and annoyed the inhabitants.

In his journal under date of October 21, 1776, writes: "Lord Stirling, who was before in this vicinity with his brigade, had formed an enterprise against Major Robert Rogers' corps. The old Indian hunter, in the last French war, who had now engaged in the British service with his corps, lay on the outpost of the British army, near Marroneck. The enterprise was conducted with good address, and if the Americans had known exactly how Rogers' corps lay they would probably have killed, or taken the whole. As it was, thirty-six prisoners, sixty muskets, and some other articles were taken. The Major conformably to his former general conduct, escaped with the rest of the corps." The American troops were under the command of Colonel Haslet of Delaware and chiefly from Maryland and Virginia. Haslet wrote: "The party we fell in with was Colonel Rogers', the late worthless Major. On the first fire, he skulked off in the dark."

The next year Rogers returned to England, and soon died.

444

OJIBWAY CHIEF AT JOHNSON HALL.

In the year 1768, Waub-o-jeeg visited Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall, near Johnstown, New York, who alludes to it in a letter in these words: "Since I wrote the chief of the Chippewaes, one of the most powerful nations, to the westward, arrived. As he is a man of much influence, and can bring some thousands into the field, I took 445 particular notice of him, formerly at Niagara; since which he has behaved well, and now came to be

informed of my sentiments on the uneasy state of the Indians to the westward. He told me his people would quietly wait his return, before they took any resolutions; confirming all the accounts I have received of the practices of the Spaniards and French."

ALEXANDER HENRY AT CHAGOUAMIGON BAY, A. D. 1765.

After the English reoccupation, Henry formed a partnership for trade and furs with his friend Cadot, and he determined in 1765 to establish a post at Chagouamigon Bay. He found the Ojibways there dressed in deer skins, because in consequence of the French and English war they had not received goods of European manufacture. He built his house within the bay, which by the 15th of December was frozen. On the 20th of April, 1766, the ice broke up, and several canoes arrived with the news that the Ojibways had gone to war. On the 15th of May, a part of the warriors had arrived in forty canoes, who said that four days' travel from that point, four hundred strong, they had met six hundred Sioux, and battled all day, when the latter fell back across the river, and camped for the night, and the next day retreated. At this time Waubojeege was the chief at Chagouamigon, and the battle may have been that which tradition asserts took place in the valley of the Saint Croix River. Henry writes that the Ojibways lost thirty-five men. Some one told the United States Commissioner McKenney that Shingaba Wossin, of Sault Ste. Marie, was in the great St. Croix fight. At the time McKenney visited the country in 1826, this chief was supposed to be sixty-three years old. If the battle of the spring of 1766, alluded to by Henry, was the great St. Croix conflict, the chief would have been at the time but three years of age.

446

In June, 1775, Henry left Sault Ste. Marie for the chain of lakes west of Lake Superior, and on the first of August reached the Lake of the Woods, and on the west side found an old French post around which the Ojibways had lived until they were driven off by the Sioux.

PILLAGER BAND OF OJIBWAYS A. D. 1775.

Library of Congress

On the 5th of August, 1775, at Rat Portage, some of the Ojibways asked for rum, but Henry refused, because they were of the band of Pilleurs. This is the first mention of the now called Pillagers.

Count Andreani, of Milan, was at Chagouamigon in 1791, and made some scientific observations.

COUNT ANDREANI OF MILAN.

He came with the approbation of the British government, and continued his journey to the Grand Portage, then the depot of the Northwest Company. In his journal, a portion of which is in the Travels of La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, is the following table of the amount of furs at that time annually collected at different points on the shores of Lake Superior:—

Bay of Guivinau [Keweenaw] Bundles 15 La Pointe " 20 Fond du Lac " 20 Near the Grand Portage " 1400 Alampicon [Nepigon] " 24 Pie " 30 Michipicoton " 40

Each bundle was valued at forty pounds sterling.

JOHN JOHNSTON'S FIRST VISIT TO LA POINTE.

When John Johnston, an educated young man from the north of Ireland, visited the western extremity of Lake Superior, about the year 1791, he found a Chippeway village 447 on the main land near the site of Bayfield, and for security, as the old French traders had done, pitched his tent upon the island now called La Pointe and Madeline, and opened trade with the Ojibways. Michael Cadotte came in the country about the same time, if not as one of his voyageurs, and settled on the island.

THE CHIEF WAUB-O-JEEG.

In 1798, Waub-o-jeeg (White Fisher), the great Ojibway chief, died at an advanced age. McKenney writes concerning him:¹ "We made our voyage of Lake Superior in 1826. So late as that, the name of Waub-o-jeeg was never spoken but in connection with some

Library of Congress

tradition exemplifying his great powers as chief and warrior. He was, like Pontiac and Tecumthe, exceedingly jealous of the white man. This jealousy was manifested when the hand of his daughter, O-shaw-ous-go-day-way-gua, was solicited by Mr. Johnston, the accomplished Irish gentleman who resided so many years at the Sault de St. Marie, and who was not better known for his intelligence and polished manners than for his hospitality. He lived long enough to merit and receive the appellation of Patriarch of the Sault. In the course of his travels he arrived at Montreal, when he determined to ascend the great chain of lakes to the headwaters of Lake Superior. On arriving at Michael's Island,² he heard of Waub-o-jeeg, whose village lay across the strait which divides the island from the main land. He made him a visit. Being well received, he remained some time, formed an attachment to his daughter, and solicited permission to marry her. Waub-o-jeeg replied: 'White Man, I have noticed your behavior; it has been correct;

¹ *History of Indian Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1854, vol. i. pp. 154, 155.

² On Franquelin's Map, 1688, the island commonly called La Pointe, and on some modern maps Madeline, was marked as St. Michael, and this name was retained until the present century.

448 but, White Man, *your color is deceitful* . Of you, may I expect better things? You say you are going to Montreal; go, and if you return I shall be satisfied of your sincerity, and will give you my daughter.' Mr. Johnston returned, when the chief fulfilled his promise.¹ The amiable, excellent, and accomplished wife of Mr. Schoolcraft, so favorably known as a tourist and mineralogist, and a family of interesting children, are the fruits of this marriage."

¹ Mr. John Johnston died Sept. 22, 1828, aged 66, at Sault Ste. Marie, much respected. Soon after, his widow became a communicant in the Presbyterian Church, and in the fall of 1832 completed at her expense a house of worship for this branch of the church, at Sault Ste. Marie.

J. E. CADOT, HENRY'S PARTNER.

Library of Congress

J. B. Cadot (Cado), now written Cadotte, was a plain Canadian voyageur, who had been employed by Repentigny, and in accordance with custom lived with an Ojibway woman. In 1756, he brought her to Mackinaw, and was legally married by the Jesuit Le Franc. The following is a translation from the parish register still preserved at Mackinaw: I, the undersigned, missionary priest of the Society of Jesus, acting as rector, have received the mutual assent of Jean Baptiste Cadet, and of Anastasia, a neophyte, daughter of Nipissing, according to the rites of the Holy Roman Church, by which marriage has been legitimized, Marie Renée, their daughter, about two and a half months old, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses and others, on the 28th of October, 1756, at Michillimakinak."

Beside the signature of the priest, are the names Langlade, Bourassa, R. de Couangée fils, René Lacombe. A daughter, Charlotte, on May 22, 1760, was baptized. Jonathan Carver in his "Travels" writes: "The beginning of October [1767], after having coasted around the north and 449 east borders of Lake Superior, I arrived at Cadot's Fort which adjoins to the Falls of St. Marie, and is situated near the southwest corner of it." In another place: "At the upper end of these straits stands a fort that receives its name from them, commanded by Mons. Cadot, a French Canadian, who being proprietor of the soil, is still permitted to keep possession of it." In the year 1767, Cadot was again married to Marie Mouet, supposed by Tasse to have been the mother of Charles Langlade.

During the absence of Cadot, in 1768, Abbé Guilbault, Vicar General of Louisiana, visited Mackinaw, and on the 28th of July baptized his son Joseph Marie, born in October, 1767, J. Baptiste Chaboillez acting as godfather, and Marie Anne Antoine Viger, wife of Sieur Antoine Beauvais, acting as godmother. He had two other sons, J. Baptiste and Michel. Among his fellow traders at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1796, were George Kittson and John Reid. In May, 1796, owing to the infirmities of age, he gave his property to his two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel, on condition that they would provide for his wants. He lived seven years after this assignment. In the treaty of 1826, at Fond du Lac, Superior, mention is

Library of Congress

made of Michael Cadotte, Senior, son of Equawaice and his wife Equaysayway; also, of Michael Cadotte, Junior, and his wife Ossinahjeeunoqua.

J. B., the son, had a trading post in 1797 at Fond du Lac, on the St. Louis River, and the next year a post in the Red River Valley, near the 48th parallel of north latitude, and traded in this region for several years. His widow Saugemauqua was living in 1826, and four children, Louison, Sophia, Archangel, Edward, and Polly.

His brother Michel, born A. D. 1765, had an Indian wife Equaysayway, and lived until the 8th of July, 1837. He was buried on Madeline Island (La Pointe), Lake Superior. 29 450 Truman A. Warren married his daughter Charlotte, and his brother Lyman M. Warren married another daughter, Mary.¹

¹ For the facts relative to Cadot, *American State Papers*, Land Claims, vol. v., Kelton's *Annals of Mackinaw*, and Tasse's *Canadians of the West* have been consulted.

OJIBWAYS IN MINNESOTA.

At the time that the French retired, the Chippewa River was the road of war between the Sioux and Ojibways. Toward the sources of this river, at the lakes, once occupied by the refugee Hurons and Ottawas, the Ojibways had advanced from Lake Superior and established villages.

Before the close of the "War of the Revolution," in 1783, the Ojibways were occupying Sandy, Leech, and Red Lake, and Kay, Harris, Default, Perrault, and others had trading posts in northern Minnesota; and there was not left a Sioux village above the Falls of St. Anthony, and east of the Mississippi River.

DAVID THOMPSON, ASTRONOMER AND GEOGRAPHER.

Until the close of the last century the source of the Mississippi was supposed to be farther north than the Lake of the Woods. The Northwest Company of Montreal, desiring a

Library of Congress

knowledge of the region west of Lake Superior, employed David Thompson, who had been educated in the Blue Coat School, London,² as geographer and astronomer. He was instructed to go as far as the Missouri River, and search for anything that would throw light upon the former and present condition of the country. In company with Hugh McGillis he left Grand Portage of Lake Superior on the 9th of August, 1796, equipped with an excellent achromatic telescope, a sextant of ten inches radius

² A notice of Thompson may be found in *Neill's History of Minnesota*, 5th edition, 1883, p. 866.

451 and other instruments made by the accurate Dolland. After visiting the various trading posts of the Northwest Company, north of the 49th degree of latitude, he proceeded to the Mandan villages on the Missouri, and returned by way of the Assineboine to the Red River of the North which on the 7th of March, 1798, he reached. On the 14th he ascended the stream to the trading post in charge of Charles Chabouillier, and found it to be one minute and thirty seconds south of the 49th parallel of north latitude, and consequently within the territory of the United States.

The number of Ojibways who traded at this post was ninety-five, and on the basis of one man to a family of seven souls the whole population of the upper Red River Valley was 665, and at the Rainy River post 60 traded, representing a population of 420. On the 27th of March, he arrived at the Northwestern Company's post on the Red River in latitude 47° 54' 21" in charge of J. Baptiste Cadotte. From thence by way of Clear Water River he reached a portage to Red Lake River.

THOMPSON AT RED LAKE, MINNESOTA.

Ascending this stream for thirty-two miles, about the 15th of April he reached Red Lake, where he found only the old Ojibway chief She-she-she-pus-kut, and six lodges of Indians. On the 23d, he was at Turtle Lake, and on the 27th, found the most northern sources of the Mississippi River. From Turtle Lake he went to Red Cedar Lake, where there was a

Library of Congress

post of the Northwest Company, under one of its partners, John Sayer. Here 60 heads of families traded, and 420 was the estimated population of the vicinity. On the 6th of May he arrived at Sandy Lake, where the post was in charge of Mr. Bruské. Twenty heads of families brought their furs here, and about 294 was the whole population. From this point he proceeded to Lake Superior, and near the mouth of the St. Louis 452 River stopped at the trading post in charge of M. Lemoine, and here about 225 was the number of the Ojibway population. While at Sandy Lake, he was informed that on the 19th of February, at a point a half day's journey distant, the Ojibways had lost forty persons in a fight with a party of Sioux, Sauks, and Menomonees.

TRADE IN RED RIVER VALLEY.

After the “Northwest Company” of traders was organized, the Ojibways hunted for beaver west of Lake Superior with a firmer foot. Under the auspices of this company, Peter Grant established the first post on the east side of the Red River of the North, opposite the mouth of the Pembina River, and in 1797–98 another post was established on Pembina River near its mouth, by Charles Chabouillier. Until this period, the horse had never been used, and the voyageurs after this invented the peculiar Red River cart.

Alexander Henry, a nephew of the trader, who had a post in Chagouamigon Bay of Lake Superior, who was a partner of the Northwest Company, on the 18th of August, 1800, arrived at the junction of the Red River of the North and Assineboine rivers, and writes in his journal: “I found about forty Saulteurs [Ojibways] waiting my arrival.”

In September, Henry built a trading post in the Red River Valley, within a short distance of Little Park River.

A STRANGE FREAK.

On the 2d of January, 1801, Beardash the son of Sucre, the Ojibway chief, visited him, and he is thus described in his journal: “This person is a curious compound. He is a

Library of Congress

man in every respect, both as to carriage, dress, and manners. His walk and mode of sitting down; his manners and occupations, and language are those of a woman. All the persuasiveness of his father, who is a great chief 453 among the Saulteaux [Ojibways], cannot induce him to behave like a man. About a month ago, in a drinking match, he got into a quarrel, and had one of his eyes knocked out with a club. He is very fleet, and a few years ago was reckoned the best runner among the Saulteaux. Both his fleetness and courage were fully put to the test on the banks of the Chain [Cheyenne], when Monsieur Reaume attempted to make peace. He accompanied a party of Saulteaux to the Scieux camp. They at first appeared reconciled to each other through the intercession of the white people, but on the return of the Saulteaux, the Scieux pursued them. Both parties were on foot, and the Scieux had the name of being very swift. The Saulteaux very imprudently dispersed themselves in the open plains, and several of them were killed, but the party in which Beardash was, all escaped in the following manner.

AN EXCITING CONFLICT.

“One of them had a bow which he got from the Scieux, but only a few arrows. On their first starting, and finding they were pursued, they ran a considerable distance, until they perceived the Scieux were gaining fast, when Beardash took the bow and arrows from his comrades, and told them to run as fast as possible, and not to mind him, as he apprehended no danger. He then stopped, and turned about, and faced the enemy, and began to let fly his arrows. This checked their course, and they returned the compliment, with interest, but he says it was nothing but long shot, and only a chance arrow could have hurt him. They had nearly lost their strength when they drew near him. His own stock was soon expended, but he lost no time in gathering up those of the enemy, which fell near him. Seeing his friends at some distance ahead, and the Scieux moving to surround him, he turned about, and ran away to join his comrades, the Scieux running after him. 454 Beardash again stopped, faced them, and with his bow and arrows kept them at bay, until his friends got away a considerable distance, when he again ran off to join them. Thus he

Library of Congress

did continue to manoeuvre, until a spot of strong woods was reached, and the Scieux did no longer follow.”

On the 15th of September, 1801, Henry arrived at his post on Pembina River near its junction with the Red River, from his annual trip to the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, and here he found sixty Saukteaux camped, anxiously waiting to taste some new milk, as rum was called, and the next month the chief Le Sucre, and ten other Ojibways from Leech Lake arrived. In January, 1804, Cameron, Cotton, Hesse, and Stitt were trading with the Red Lake Ojibways.

CONFLICT OF SIOUX AND OJIBWAYS A. D. 1805.

On the 3d of July, 1805, the Sioux attacked a band of Ojibways at Tongue River, a few miles from the Pembina trading post. Henry writes in his journal: “Fourteen persons, men, women, and children, were killed or taken prisoners. My beau-père was the first man that fell. He had climbed up a tree to look out if the buffalo were near, about 8 o'clock in the morning. He had no sooner reached the top of the tree when the two Sioux who lay near, discharged their guns, and the balls passed through his body. He had only time to call out to his family, who were in the tent about one hundred paces from him, ‘Save yourselves, the Sioux are killing us,’ and fell dead.

“The noise brought the Indians out of their tents, and perceiving their danger, ran through the open plains, toward an open island or wood, in Tongue River, about a mile distant. They had not gone more than a fourth of a mile when they saw the main party on horseback, crossing the Tongue River, and in a few moments they began to fire. The four men, by their expert manoeuvres and incessant 455 fire kept them in awe, until they were two hundred paces from the woods, when the enemy perceiving their prey ready to escape, surrounded and rushed upon them. Three of the Saukteaux [Ojibways] fled in a different direction, and one escaped, but the other two were killed.

“He that remained to protect the women and children was a brave fellow, Anguenance, or Little Chief. When the enemy was rushing upon them, he waited very deliberately, when he aimed at one coming full speed and knocked him from his horse. Three young girls and one boy were taken prisoners, and the rest were all murdered and cut up in the most horrible manner. Several women and children had made their escape to the woods. The enemy chased them, but the willows were so thick, they were saved. A boy of about twelve years of age, says, that a Scieux being in pursuit of him, he crossed into a low hidden place, and the horseman leaped over, without perceiving him. One of the little girls tells a pitiful story. She says that her mother having two children who could not walk fast enough, had taken one upon her back, and prevailed upon her sister to carry the other, but when they got near the woods, the enemy rushing upon them and yelling, the young woman was so frightened that she threw down the child and soon overtook the mother, who, observing that the child was missing, and hearing it screaming, kissed the little daughter who tells the story, and said: ‘As for me, I will return for your youngest sister, and rescue her or die in the attempt; take courage, and run fast, my daughter!’

“Poor woman! she rescued the child, and was running off, when she was arrested by a blow from a war-club. She fell to the ground, but drew her knife and plunged it into the neck of her murderer; others coming up, she was soon despatched. Thus my belle-mère ended her days. The 456 survivors having reached the fort, my people went out the next day to the field. A horrid spectacle! My beau-père had his head severed from his body even with the shoulders, his right arm cut off, his left foot, also his right leg from the knee stripped of the skin. The bodies of the women and children all lay within a few yards of each other. Anguenance lay near his wife. The enemy had raised his scalp, cut the flesh from the bone, and broke away the skull to make a water dish. Only the trunk remained, with the belly and breast ripped up and thrown over the face. His wife was also cut up and butchered in a shocking manner, and her young children cut up and thrown about in different directions. All the bodies were covered with arrows sticking in them, many old knives, two or three broken guns, and some war-clubs.”¹

1 Other extracts from MS. Journals of Henry, may be found in *Neill's History of Minnesota*, 5th edition, 1883, pp. 870–890.

TRADER KILLED AT RED LAKE.

In the spring of 1805, a trader named Hughes was killed at Red Lake by an Ojibway. Henry, under date of 28th of May, writes in his journal: "Le Grande Noir arrived from Red Lake, and his son-in-law, who last spring, at Red Lake, killed an American, by the name of Hughes. The deceased standing by the door, and observing the Indian with a gun, caught a tent-pin, and gave him a blow on the head. The Indian only staggered a few paces, and recovering himself fired his gun and killed Hughes."

457

III.

OJIBWAYS UNDER UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

Lt. Z. M. Pike of the United States Army landed on the island, at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers, on the 21st of September, 1805, and found that all the young warriors of the two Sioux villages in the vicinity had marched against the Ojibways to take revenge for an attack that had been made upon them in that vicinity, by which ten of their tribe had been killed. On Monday the 23d, he held a council with the Sioux, who agreed to make peace with their old foes.

LT. Z. M. PIKE AT LEECH LAKE.

On the 16th of February, 1806, as the first representative of the United States who had visited them, he held a council with the Ojibways at Leech Lake, and in his opening speech said: "I was chosen to ascend the Mississippi to bear to his red children the words of their father, and the Great Spirit has opened the eyes and ears of all the nations to listen to my words. The Sauks and Reynards are planting corn and raising cattle. The

Library of Congress

Winnebagoes continue peaceable as usual, and even the Sioux have laid by the hatchet at my request. Yes, my brothers, the Sioux who have so long and obstinately warred against the Chippeways, have agreed to lay by the hatchet, smoke the calumet, and again become your brothers. Brothers! you behold the pipe of Wabasha as a proof of what I say. The Little Corbeau, Fils de Pinchon, and L'Aile Rouge, had marched two hundred and fifty warriors to revenge the blood of their women and children, slain last year at the St. Peters. I sent a runner after them, stopped their march, and met them in council at the mouth of the St. 458 Peters, where they promised to remain peaceable until my return; and if the Ouchipawah chiefs accompanied me, to receive them as brothers, and accompany us to St. Louis, there to bury the hatchet, and smoke the pipe in the presence of our great war-chief; and to request him to punish those who first broke the peace....Brothers! I understand that one of your young men killed an American at Red Lake last year, but that the murderer is far off; let him keep so; send him where we may never hear of him more, for were he here I would be obliged to demand him of you, and make my young men shoot him," etc. etc.

Wiscoup, Le Sucre, or Old Sweet of Red Lake, who told Lieutenant Pike that he was a young man when the Sioux were driven from Leech Lake, was the first to reply. He spoke as follows: "My father! I have heard and understood the words of our great father. It overjoys me to see you make peace among us. I should have accompanied you had my family been present, and would have gone to see their father, the great war-chief.

"The medal I hold in my hand I received from the English chiefs. I willingly deliver it up to you. Wabasha's calumet with which I am presented, I receive with all my heart. Be assured that I will use my best endeavors to keep my young men quiet. There is my calumet, I send it to my father the great war-chief. What does it signify that I should go to see him?

"My father! you will meet the Sioux on your return. You may make them smoke in my pipe, and tell them that I have let fall my hatchet.

Library of Congress

“My father! tell the Sioux on the upper part of the St. Peters River, that they mark trees with the figure of a calumet, that we of Red Lake who go that way, should we see them, may make peace with them, being assured of their pacific disposition, when we shall see the calumet marked on the trees.”

459

Obigouitte and Aish-ke-bug-e-koshe,¹ Guelle Plat (as called by the French), Flat Mouth (by the English), spoke to the same effect, and it was arranged that Beau, a brother of Flat Mouth, and a chief called the Buck, should go with Lieutenant Pike as deputies to Saint Louis.

¹ In this article the spelling of the treaty of 1855 is used.

In 1806, the country east of the Mississippi between Red River and the Crow Wing was in dispute between the Sioux and Ojibways, and the Ojibways claimed west of the Mississippi, north of the Crow Wing River.

Pike, in his published work,² in an appendix, gives the following census of the Ojibways of the Saint Croix and Mississippi.

² *Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi*, by Major Z. M. Pike, Philadelphia, 1810.

OJIBWAY POPULATION A. D. 1806.

| Place. | Men. | Women. | Children. | Total. |
|--|------|--------|-----------|--------|
| Sandy Lake | 45 | 79 | 224 | 348 |
| Chief, Catawabata (De Breche or Broken Tooth). | | | | |
| Leech Lake | 150 | 280 | 690 | 1120 |
| Chiefs, Eskibugekoge (Guelle Plat or Flat Mouth), Obigouitte (Ch de la Terre, or of the Land), Oole (La Brulé or the Burnt). | | | | |
| Red Lake | 150 | 260 | 610 | 1020 |
| Chief, Wiscoup (Le Sucre or the Sweet). | | | | |
| St. Croix and Miss. | 104 | 165 | 420 | 689 |

OJIBWAYS AT THE CAPTURE OF MACKINAW ISLAND A. D. 1812.

The President of the United States by the order of Congress on June 19, 1812, declared war against Great Britain. The United States military post on Mackinaw Island was then in command of Porter Hanks, a lieutenant of artillery. 460 About dawn of the morning of the 17th of July, a flotilla from St. Joseph's Island at the mouth of the Ste. Marie River, consisting of a brig of the Northwest Company, ten batteau, and seventy canoes, arrived at Mackinaw Island with British forces. At ten in the morning, a piece of artillery was in a position on a height commanding the American garrison.¹ Lieutenant Hanks was greatly surprised, as he had not received official notice of the declaration of war. His entire force was only 61 persons, and he was obliged to surrender.² The British troops were composed of 40 regulars, 260 Canadians, and 482 Indians. Capt. Charles Roberts was in command of the whole, and Robert Dickson was at the head of the Sioux, Folle Avoine, and Winnebago Indians, and John Askin was the leader of the Ojibways and Ottawas. Askin, in his report,³ expressed his indebtedness to his subordinates, Michel Cadotte, Jr., Charles Longlade, and Augustin Nolin. He wrote to his superior officer: "I firmly believe not a soul of them would have been saved," if the Americans had fired a gun, and also, "I never saw so determined a set of people as the Chippeways and Attawas." Among the British traders, in this expedition, were Crawford, John Johnson, Pothier, Armatinger, La Croix, Franks, and Rolette.

1 Report of Hanks, *Niles's Register*, vol. ii.

2 Report of Captain Roberts in the appendix to James's *Naval Occurrences of the Late War* mentions that the Mackinaw garrison consisted of 2 first lieutenants, 1 surgeon's mate, 3 sergeants, 4 corporals, 5 musicians, 6 artificers, 39 privates, total 61.

3 Report of Askin in *Niles's Register*, vol. ii.

AMERICAN TROOPS BURN HOUSES AT SAULT STE. MARIE.

The Scorpion, under command of Lieut. D. Turner of the United States Navy, during the last week of July, 1814, landed at Sault Ste. Marie a detachment of infantry under 461 the command of Major Holmes of the army. The agent of the Northwest Company who had borne arms against the United States escaped, and the troops burned the trading post of the company, and the huts of those traders who were disloyal. An attempt was also made to bring out of Lake Superior a schooner, called the Perseverance, of one hundred tons, and used to carry goods to Fort William, but in dragging it through the rapids it bilged, and Lieut. Turner ordered it to be burned. On the 4th of August, Holmes was killed while leading an attack upon the British troops at Mackinaw. The Tigress, an American gunboat, in command of sailing-master Champlin,¹ near the mouth of St. Mary's River, was soon after captured by some British sailors under Lieut. Bulger, boarding in the night, assisted by Indians under Dickson.

¹ His son was the late Raymond Champlin, of St. Paul.

FIGHT IN A. D. 1818 BETWEEN SIOUX AND OJIBWAYS.

Toward the close of the year 1818, a fight took place between the Sioux and Ojibways in the country between the headwaters of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. A Yankton chief, called by the French Le Grand, held a council with some Ojibways and smoked the pipe of peace. When the latter were returning home, some of the Sioux sneaked after them, scalped a few, and took a woman prisoner. When the intelligence reached Leech Lake, thirteen young warriors started for the Sioux country to avenge the insult. For four weeks they travelled without meeting any of their enemies, but at length on the Pomme de Terre River, on a very foggy morning they thought a buffalo herd was in sight, but on nearer approach it proved to be a Sioux camp, and some of the latter on horseback gave the alarm. The Ojibways finding that they were discovered, and that their foes were numerous, 462 sent one of their number to their home east of the Mississippi to announce their probable death.¹ The twelve who remained now began to dig holes in the ground, and prepare for the conflict from which they could not hope to escape. Soon they were

Library of Congress

surrounded by the Sioux, and their leader, exasperated by their continued loss, gave orders for a general onset, when all the Ojibways were tomahawked. The thirteenth returned home, and related the circumstances, and while friends mourned, they delighted in the story of their bravery.

1 The story as given in the text was narrated by Aitkin, trader of Sandy Lake, and appears in *Minnesota Year Book* for 1851. James D. Doty, secretary of Gov. Cass in 1820, gives a different version in his journal.

The Fond du Lac Ojibways, he wrote, having been reprimanded by the more distant Ojibways for their unwarlike spirit, thirteen went on a war party to the Sioux country. At night they came upon a party of Sioux and began to dig holes to which they might retreat, and fight to the last extremity. They appointed the youngest of their number to stand at a distance and watch the struggle and told him when they were all killed to go back, and tell their friends. Early in the morning they attacked the Sioux, who numbered nearly one hundred. They were forced back to their holes after four had been killed on the field, and here the other eight died. This story Doty received from the survivor. See letter of Gov. Lewis Cass to Secretary of War. Schoolcraft mentions that he saw the survivor at Grand Island in Lake Superior in 1820, and describes him as a young and graceful warrior.

GOVERNOR LEWIS CASS IN 1820 VISITS OJIBWAYS.

In June, 1820, Governor Lewis Cass, of Michigan, visited the Lake Superior region. At Sault Ste. Marie he found forty or fifty lodges of Ojibways, and Shaugabawossin was the head chief. There was another chief Shingwauk, or Little Pine, who had been with the British in 1814,² and also Sassaba, a chief of the Crane Totem, whose brother had been killed at the battle of the Thames. He wore a scarlet uniform with epaulets, and was hostile to the United States. After some sharp words with the latter, on the 16th of June a treaty was concluded, by which the "Chippeway

2 Anna Jameson mentions him in her *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*.

Library of Congress

463 tribe of Indians ceded sixteen square miles of land,¹ Sassaba² refused to sign,³ and Little Pine signed under another name, Lavoine Bart.

¹ See *Indian Treaties of United States*.

² Sassaba used to walk about Sault Ste. Marie naked, except a large gray wolf's skin with the tail dangling on the ground. On Sept. 16, 1822, he was drowned in the rapids while under the influence of liquor.

³ Schoolcraft's *Narrative*.

Governor Cass learned that Leech Lake, Sandy Lake, and Fond du Lac were the chief places of residence of the Ojibways. At Leech Lake, Flat Mouth was chief, and it was estimated there were two hundred men, three hundred and fifty women, and about eleven hundred children; at Sandy Lake, the chief was Bookoosaingegum, by the French called Bras Casse, by the English, Broken Arm. At this point were eighty-five men, two hundred and forty-three women and children, and thirty-five half-breeds; at Fond du Lac, Ghingwauby, the Deaf Man, was chief, and the band numbered about forty-five men, sixty women, and two hundred and forty children.⁴

⁴ Doty's Report, Sept. 1820, to Governor Cass. Vol. vii. Wis. Hist. Soc. Collections.

LA POINTE ISLAND.

La Pointe Island, called by the voyageurs Middle Island, because half way between Sault Ste. Marie and Fort William, and also Montreal Island, was only a transient trading post until after the United States military post was established at Sault Ste. Marie, and the American Fur Company organized. John Johnston, in 1791, stopped on the island with some goods, and traded with the Indian village, then about four miles westerly on the mainland.

Library of Congress

Governor Cass visited it in 1820, and Schoolcraft, who was his companion, in the *Narrative of the Expedition*, wrote: "Passing this [Bad] river, we continued along the sandy formation to its extreme termination, which separates the 464 Bay of St. Charles [Chagouamigon] by a strait from that remarkable group of islands called the Twelve Apostles by Carver. It is this sandy point which is called La Pointe, Chagoimegon by the old French authors, a term now shortened to La Pointe....Touching at the inner, or largest of the group, we found it occupied by a Chippeway village, under a chief called Bezhike.¹ There was a tenement, occupied by a Mr. M. Cadotte² who has allied himself to the Chippewas."

¹ A marble tombstone on the island, records that he died Sept. 7, 1855, aged 96 years. If this is correct, he was 17 years old when the English colonies declared their independence of Great Britain.

² Upon Michael Cadotte's tombstone it is mentioned that he died July 8, 1837, aged 72 years, which would make his birth A.D. 1765.

SCHOOLCRAFT CALLS THE ISLAND, MICHAEL'S.

In 1822, when John C. Calhoun was Secretary of War, the first military post and Indian agency of the United States was established at Sault Ste. Marie.

In 1824, George Johnston, an Indian sub-agent, went to the island, and the Warrens, two young men from Vermont, who had married daughters of Cadotte, represented the interests of the American Fur Company. McKenney, in 1826, visited what he calls Michael's Island, and alludes to two comfortable log houses lathed and plastered, and twenty acres under cultivation, and mentions that the trader Cadotte had lived there for twenty-five years. Under Cadotte and his son-in-law Lymam Warren, La Pointe Island grew in importance as a trading post. Through Warren's influence, as has been

Library of Congress

mentioned,³ the first missionaries, since the days when Allouez and Marquette dwelt on the shores of Chagouamigon Bay, entered the country and settled at La Pointe Island.⁴

³ See page 406.

⁴ The child of the wife of Rev. Sherman Hall, was the first of pure white parentage born on the shores of Lake Superior, and west of Sault Ste. Marie.

465

OJIBWAYS IN 1820 AT FORT ST. ANTHONY, NOW SNELLING.

Major Taliaferro, who had been appointed in 1819, the first Indian agent above Prairie du Chien, in his journal under date of July 10, 1820, mentions one of the first visits of Ojibways to the agency at the mouth of the Minnesota River. He writes: "The Chippeways have visited me, twenty-eight in number, under Abesheke their chief. They smoke the pipe of peace with the three bands of Sioux near this place....Col. Dickson¹ informs me that if I succeed in completing the peace between the Sioux and Chippeways, that the latter to the number of two hundred and fifty to three hundred will visit my agency."

¹ Robert Dickson, known to Indians as "Red Head," with Archibald Campbell, Duncan Graham, and F. M. Dease, were traders on the Minnesota and the Upper Mississippi before the year 1802. Dickson during the war of 1812 was British Superintendent of Indians. Capt. Anderson in a speech to the Indians at Prairie du Chien in 1814 said, "My brethren! you must not call me father. You have only one father in this country, that is the Red Head, Robert Dickson, the others are all your brethren." In 1815, Dickson was for a period at Prairie du Chien. *Wisconsin Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ix. p. 236.

A notice of Dickson may be found in *Neill's History of Minnesota*, pp. 279–283, 289–291.

In 1823, a large party of Ojibways visited the agency and held a council with the Sioux in the presence of the Indian agent Taliaferro.

Library of Congress

After criminations and recriminations, the Sioux presented the calumet, as they had been the first to violate the agreement which had been made three years before. Wamenitonka (Black Dog), presented it to Pasheskonoepe, the oldest Ojibway chief, who after handing it to the Indian agent, smoked it, and passed it to the rest. The ceremony concluded with a little whiskey presented by the agent, but in two days they were again about to fight each other.

The council was held on the 4th of June, but it was not until the next day that Flat Mouth (Aish-ke-bug-e-koshe), 30 466 the head chief of the Ojibways arrived, and the Sioux chief of the old village, Panisciowa, was the first person he sent, who held out his hand, but the Ojibway would not take it. The Sioux chief, indignant, raised a war party, and the next day surrounded the Ojibways, who had placed their women and children behind the log huts of the old cantonments, and were ready to light. Before any blood was shed, the agent, and colonel of the fort, effected a reconciliation.

THE CHIEF AISH-KE-BUG-E-KOSHE.

Beltrami, the Italian traveller, was on the 9th of September, of this year, at Leech Lake, and found the Ojibways there in two factions, one under Cloudy Weather, and the other under Aish-ke-bug-e-koshe or Flat Mouth. Cloudy Weather's son-in-law had been killed by the Sioux, a few days before, and they were meditating a war party, but at length agreed to go and consult with agent Taliaferro. Soon after,¹ Flat Month was in his tent, at full length, "like old Silenus in a state of intoxication."

¹ Beltrami, vol. ii. p. 441.

LONG'S VISIT TO THE OJIBWAY COUNTRY A. D. 1823.

Keating, the historiographer of Major Long's expedition, in 1823, to the sources of the Minnesota, and from thence to Lake Winnipeg, and the north shore of Lake Superior to Sault Ste. Marie, doubted whether the population of the Ojibway tribe had ever been large,

Library of Congress

and after mentioning that they were divided into many local bands, uses this language: "We can form no idea of the population of each of these bands or of the whole nation, but although we travelled over about, fourteen hundred miles of country' claimed by the Chippeways from the main fork of Red River to the Sault de Ste. Marie, the whole amount of Indians we fell in with did not exceed one hundred. We heard of no traditions respecting their origin upon which any confidence might be placed. The tales we heard were 467 so much intermixed with childish details, and contained so many coincidences with the Mosaic doctrines, evidently derived from white men, that they do not deserve to be noted."¹

1 *Expedition to Sources of St. Peter's River, etc.*, vol. ii. pp. 148, 150. London, 1825.

OJIBWAYS KILL A TRADER IN 1824, AT LAKE PEPIN.

During the month of July, 1824, a Mr. Findlay with a Canadian named Barrette, and two others, were met at Lake Pepin by an Ojibway war party and killed.

In the spring, Kewaynokwut, a chief of Lac Vieux Desert, while very sick, made a vow, that if he recovered, he would lead a war party against the Sioux. After he gained strength, early in July with twenty-nine warriors he descended the Chippeway River to its mouth, where he arrived, early on a foggy morning, and found Findlay and his party still asleep. When it was discovered they were not Sioux, the Ojibways began to pillage, and first killed all but Findlay, who was near his canoe. He was at length pursued by an Indian named Little Thunder who shot him, and then waded in the water, cut off his head, and took the scalp.

The affair created great excitement, and on the 31st of August, John Holiday,² a trader, came to Sault Ste. Marie bearing a small coffin painted black containing the scalp of the American killed at Lake Pepin, which had been sent down by the Ojibway chief at Keweenaw. Schoolcraft, then Indian agent, forwarded it to the Governor of Michigan, who

Library of Congress

was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northwest, and on the 22d of June, 1825, the murderers were delivered up.

2 Holiday had been a trader since 1802.

OJIBWAYS IN 1825 SIGN TREATY AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

In view of the dissensions among the Indians of the Northwest, the United States government authorized Governor 468 Clark of Missouri, and Governor Cass of Michigan, to make an effort to settle the boundaries of the tribes, and establish peaceful relations.

At Prairie du Chien, on the 19th of August, 1825, a grand conference was held with the Sioux, Ojibways, Sauks, and Foxes, Menomonees, Ioways, Pottawattomies, Ottawas and Winnebagoes. After some discussion,¹ the

1 The Ojibways who signed this treaty were:—

Shingaubas W'Ossin, first chief, Sault Ste. Marie.

Gitspee Jiauba, second chief, " "

Gitspee Waiskee, or Le Bœuf, La Pointe.

Nain-a-boozho, " "

Mongazid, Loon's Foot, Fond du Lac.

Wescoup, or Sucre, " "

Mush-koas, or The Elk, " "

Naubun Aqueezhiok, " "

Kautawaubeta, Broken Tooth, Sandy Lake.

Library of Congress

Pugisaingegen, Broken Arm, " "

Kweeweezaishish or Grosseguelle, " "

Babaseekeendase, Curling Hair, " "

Paashineep, " "

Peechananim, Striped Feather, " "

Puinanegi, Hole-in-the-Day, " "

Pugaagik, Little Beef, Leech Lake.

Shaata, The Pelican, " "

Cheonoquet, Great Cloud, " "

Kiawatas, The Tarrier, " "

Maugegabo, The Leader, " "

Nangotuck, The Flame, " "

White Devil, " "

Neesopena, Two Birds, Upper Red Cedar.

Iaubensee, Little Buck, Red Lake.

Neesidayshish, The Sky, " "

Nauquanabee, Mille Lac.

Library of Congress

Piagick, Single Man, St. Croix Band.

Peesecker, Buffalo, " "

Naudin, or The Wind, " "

Cabamabee, " "

Tukaubishoo, Crouching Lynx, Lac Courte Oreille.

Red Devil, " "

The Track, " "

Nebonabee, The Mermaid, " "

Kahaka, White Sparrow, " "

Nauquanosh, Lac du Flambeau.

469 following article was adopted by the Sioux and Ojibways: "It is agreed that the line dividing their respective countries, shall commence at the Chippewa River, a half day's march below the falls; and from thence it shall run to Red Cedar River immediately below the falls; from thence to the St. Croix River which it strikes at a place called the Standing Cedar, about a day's paddle in a canoe above the lake at the mouth of that river; thence passing between two lakes called by the Chippewas 'Green Lakes,' and by the Sioux the 'Lakes they bury the eagles in,' and from thence to the Standing Cedar the Sioux split, thence to R urn River crossing it at the mouth of a small creek called Choking Creek, a long day's march from the Mississippi; thence to a point of woods that projects into the prairie half a day's march from the Mississippi; thence in a straight line to the mouth of the first river which enters the Mississippi on its west side, above the mouth of Sac River; thence ascending the said river above the mouth of Sac River to a small lake at its source;

Library of Congress

thence in a direct line to a lake at the head of Prairie River, which is supposed to enter the Crow Wing River on its south side; thence to Otter Tail Lake Portage; thence to said Otter Tail Lake, and down through the middle thereof to its outlet; thence in a direct line so as to strike Buffalo River, halfway from its source to its mouth, and down the said river to Red River; thence descending Red River to the mouth of Outard or Goose Creek.

“The eastern boundary of the Sioux commences opposite Ioway River on the Mississippi, runs back two or three miles to the bluffs, follows the bluffs crossing Bad Axe River, to the mouth of Black River, and from Black River to a half day's march below the falls of the Chippeway River.”

A noted Sandy Lake chief, Curly Head or Ba-ba-seekeen-dase as his Indian name appears in the treaty, on his 470 Way home from Prairie du Chien was taken sick and died; the wife of the old Hole-in-the-Day also died at Sank River. During Curly Head's sickness he called two brothers who as young men had been his pipe bearers, and committed to them the care of the Mississippi Ojibways. One of these was Song-uk-um-eg, Strong Ground; the other Pug-on-a-ke-shig,¹ Hole-in-the-Day.

¹ The name attached to the treaty of 1825, is spelled Pu-in-a-ne-gi.

TREATY IN 1826 AT FOND DU LAC OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

As full deputations of the Ojibways were not at Prairie du Chien, it was agreed that the tribe should assemble again at the Fond du Lac of Lake Superior. The commissioners on the part of the United States were Gov. Lewis Cass and T. L. McKenney. On the second of August, 1826, the council met, and after the usual feast, speeches, and exhausting of patience, on the fifth, a treaty was concluded, which was ratified on the second of February of the next year by the United States Senate. By the third article, the United States was given “the right to search for and carry away any metals or minerals from any part of their country.”

CHIEF SHINGABA WOSSIN.

Shingaba Wossin, of Sault Ste. Marie, then the head chief, was the principal speaker. In council he said: "My relatives! our fathers have spoken to us about the line made at the Prairie [du Chien]. With this I and my band are satisfied. You who live on the line are most interested....My friends! our fathers have come here to embrace their children. Listen to what they say. It will be good for you. If you have any copper on your lands, I advise you to sell it. It is of no use to us. They can 471 make articles out of it for our use. If any one has any knowledge on this subject, I ask him to bring it to light."

The father of this chief was Maid-o-Saligee, who had four wives, three of whom were sisters, and by them he had twenty children. Shingaba Wossin, during the war with Great Britain, in 1813, went to Canada, and one of his brothers was killed at the battle of the Thames.

A DESPONDENT OJIBWAY.

While the commissioners were at Fond du Lac an Indian entered Col. McKenney's room the embodiment of despair. Feeble in step, haggard in countenance, emaciated in body, he was a man without a friend. In 1820 he had been employed by Gov. Cass and H. R. Schoolcraft to act as a guide through the copper region for some who were making explorations. Wabishkeepenas, or White Pigeon, was his name, and it was with the disapproval of many of his tribe that he started on a journey for the great copper rock, which they looked upon as sacred. For some reason he lost his way, and the party was forced to return. From this time he was looked upon by his band, as one who had offended the Manitou, and he was shunned. He felt like Cain, and became a "fugitive and vagabond." He wandered alone in the woods, but lost the cunning of his hands, so that he was not successful in the hunt, and lived upon the roots of the earth.¹ The commissioners upon hearing the story took pity upon the poor fellow, "and determined to restore him to

Library of Congress

the standing from which he had fallen, and having loaded him with presents, convinced him and his band that his offence was forgiven and luck changed.”²

1 In 1857, he carried letters from La Pointe, to Sault Ste. Marie, and still was unpopular with his tribe.

2 The superstition of the Indians relative to copper was noticed by early travellers. Allouez, the Jesuit missionary, writes of the Lake Superior Indians: “They often find at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper weighing from ten to twenty pounds. I have often seen them in the hands of the savages, and as they are superstitious they look upon them as so many divinities, or as presents made to them by the gods who are at the bottom of the lake, to be the cause of their good fortune.”

Governor Denonville, of Canada, in 1687 wrote: “I have seen one of our voyageurs, who assures me that some fifteen months ago he saw a lump of two hundred weight as yellow as gold, in a river which falls into Lake Superior. When heated it could be cut with an axe, but the superstitious Indians, regarding this boulder as a good spirit, would not permit him to take any of it away.’

La Ronde, the officer in charge at Chagouamigon Bay in 1730, reported that he had received “a fragment of copper weighing eighteen pounds, which in smell, color, and weight resembled the ordinary red copper. This ingot had been brought in by an Indian. but the savages were superstitious as to those discoveries: and would not reveal the locality.”

472

A PARTIALLY SCALPED OJIBWAY WOMAN.

Commissioner McKenney, on the 31st of July, went to an island in the St. Louis River opposite the American Fur Company's post, to visit an old woman named Oshegun, whose career had been quite remarkable. When about fourteen years of age she went

Library of Congress

with a band of sixty men, women, and children, to the vicinity of the Falls of Chippewa River, which were surprised by the Sioux who rushed down the hillsides and fired into their lodges. Oshegwun ran toward the woods, and was pursued by a Sioux who caught and bound her. Another Sioux then approached and struck her with a war-club, partially scalped her and was about to cut her throat when he was shot. In the contest for the girl each warrior had taken a portion of her scalp, and, while they were disputing, her father came up and killed both. When night came the parent went to the spot where he had seen his daughter, found the pieces of scalp, and by the blood on the snow reached the place to which she had crawled. The daughter survived and lived to have three husbands, all of whom were unkind, and to be the mother of ten children. Her son Okeenakeequid appeared at the council in a Sioux dress, which he obtained at the treaty of Prairie du Chien 473 in 1825, where the Sioux and Ojibways smoked together. At that time a Sioux warrior proposed to exchange clothing with him, and after they had made the change the Sioux looking him in the face, and pointing to the headdress, archly said: "Brother, when you put that dress on, feel up there, there are five feathers, I have put one in for each scalp I took from your people, remember *that*."

CONSTRUCTION OF A BIRCH BARK CANOE.

Okeenakeequid was employed to make a birch canoe, and McKenney graphically describes the process of construction. "The ground being laid off in length and breadth answering to the size of the canoe (thirty-six feet long and five wide), stakes are driven at the two extremes, and thence, on either side, answering in their position, to the form of a canoe. Pieces of bark are then sown together with wattap (the root of the red cedar or fir), and placed between those stakes, from one end to the other, and made fast to them. The bark thus arranged hangs loose, and in folds, resembling in general appearance, though without their regularity, the covers of a book, with its back downwards, the edges being up, and the leaves out. Cross pieces are then put in. These press out the rim, and give the upper edges the form of the canoe. Upon these ribs, and along their whole extent, large stones are placed. The ribs having been previously well soaked, they bear the pressure

of these stones, till they became dry. Passing around the bottom, and up the sides of the canoe to the rim, they resemble hoops cut in two, or half circles. The upper parts furnish mortising places for the rim; around and over which, and through the bark, the wattap is wrapped. The stakes are then removed, the seams gummed, and the fabric is lifted into the water, where it floats like a feather.”

474

OJIBWAYS IN 1826 VISIT FORT SNELLING.

During the summer of 1826, the Ojibways came to visit the Indian agent at Fort Snelling, and encamped on the eastern shore of the Mississippi nearly opposite to the fort. Soon they were attacked by the Sioux. Henry H. Snelling, in a letter published in April, 1856, in the *Saint Paul Pioneer and Democrat*, wrote: “From the tower of the fort I witnessed the battle that ensued, and it is needless to say that the Chippewas though favored by numbers, were entirely routed, and men, women, and children indiscriminately butchered. The Sioux returned triumphantly. A large portion landed under the walls of the fort, and proceeded to the prairie, about a quarter mile northwest of it, where they performed the war-dance around the scalps of their victims.

On the 28th of May, 1827, the Ojibways again visited the fort, and as a precautionary measure encamped near its walls. Flat Mouth, with seven warriors and about sixteen women and children, composed the party.

OJIBWAYS IN 1827 ATTACKED AT FORT SNELLING.

They were told by Colonel Snelling and agent Taliaferro that as long as they encamped under the flag, and near the walls of the fort, they would be secure. During the afternoon some Sioux visited the camp, and were feasted and smoked the pipe of peace.

That night, as some officers were on the porch of Capt. Nathan Clark's quarters, which was one of the stone houses that used to stand outside of the gates, a bullet whizzed by,

Library of Congress

and rapid firing began. The Sioux, after their profession of friendship, had returned and attacked the unsuspecting Ojibways, killing two and wounding six. A little daughter of Flat Mouth was pierced through both thighs 475 by a bullet, and though she received attention from Surgeon McMahon, soon died.

Captain Clark the next morning went in pursuit of the assassins, and thirty-two prisoners were soon brought back from Land's End. Colonel Snelling ordered them to be brought into the presence of the Ojibways who were on the parade ground, and two being recognized as participants in the attack were delivered to the aggrieved party, who led them out to the plain in front of the fort gate, and when placed at a certain distance, were told to run for their lives. With the rapidity of frightened deer they bounded over the ground, but the Ojibway bullets flew faster, and they soon felt lifeless to the ground.¹ After the execution, the Ojibways entered the fort, and the same day a deputation of Sioux warriors arrived to express sorrow for the act of their young men, and to deliver two more of the assassins.

¹ Accounts vary. H. H. Snelling writes that they refused to run, and, facing their foes, told them to fire.

The Ojibways under a son of Flat Mouth met the Sioux on the prairie, near where the Indian agent resided, and with much solemnity two more of the guilty were delivered. One was fearless, and with firmness stripped himself of his clothing and ornaments, and distributed them. The other could not face death with composure.² He was disfigured by a hare-lip and begged for life. H. H. Snelling mentions that "their inanimate bodies no sooner touched the ground than both Sioux and Chippewas rushed to the spot, and thrusting their knives into the still warm flesh of the brave men, drew them reeking with blood, through their lips, swing, that the blood of so brave men would inspire courage in the weakest heart. The

Library of Congress

2 Major Garland told Schoolcraft that the two walked to execution hand in hand, when one perceiving that his comrade trembled, drew away his hand, and said he would be ashamed to die by the side of a coward. *Schoolcraft's Reminiscences*, p. 618.

476 body of the coward, however, was trampled on indiscriminately by Sioux and Chippewas, and subjected to every species of indignity.”

The dead bodies were then dragged to the high bluff above the fort, and thrown into the Mississippi.

W. Joseph Snelling in one of his stories writes: “The Flat Mouth's band lingered in the fort till their wounded comrade died. He was sensible of his condition, and bore his pains with great fortitude. When he felt his end approach, he desired that his horse might be caparisoned and brought to the hospital window, so that he might touch the animal. He then took from his medicine bag a large cake of maple sugar, and held it forth. It may seem strange, but it is true, that the beast ate it from his hand. His features were radiant with delight, as he fell back on the pillow exhausted. His horse had eaten the sugar he said, and he was sure of a favorable reception and comfortable quarters in the other world. We tried to discover the details of this superstition, but could not succeed.”

PEACE DANCE IN 1829 AT FORT SNELLING.

On the 20th of May, 1829, there was a peace dance at Fort Snelling, by about one hundred relatives of the four Sioux who had been delivered in 1827 to be executed by the Ojibways. An uncooked dog was hung upon a stake, and each dancer came up and took a bite. Seven days afterwards twenty-two bark canoes filled with Ojibways from Sandy Lake, Gull Lake, and Rum River arrived, and on Sunday, the last day of May, the Sioux and Ojibways danced together before Agent Taliaferro's house. Then the Sioux crossed the river and danced before the Ojibway lodges, and to return the compliment, the next day the Ojibways went to Black Dog's, a Sioux village four miles above the fort, on the

Minnesota River, and danced. An 477 agreement was then made that they would hunt in peace on the prairies above the Sank River.

FLAT MOUTH'S VISIT TO SAULT STE. MARIE A.D. 1828

The civil chief of Leech Lake, Aish-ke-bug-e-koshe, or Flat Mouth, in July, 1828, made his first visit to Sault Ste. Marie. His youth had been passed as a hunter, in the British possessions, west of the Red River of the North, and his first medal was received from William McGillivray of the Northwest Company, after whom Fort William¹ at the mouth of the Kamanistiguia was named. This medal in 1806, he delivered up at Leech Lake, to Lt. Z. M. Pike.

¹ Neill's *History of Minnesota*, 5th edition, 1883, p. 886.

CATAWATABETA.

The same month, arrived the Sandy Lake chief, Catawatabeta, by the French, known as the Breche, and by the English, Broken Tooth. Pie was the oldest of the Ojibway chiefs on the Upper Mississippi, and had in 1822 visited Sault Ste. Marie. He was a small boy, when the Ojibways in 1768 captured Fort Mackinaw. He mentioned to Agent Schoolcraft, that he had until lately in his possession a French flag which had been presented to his ancestors, but he had given it to a British trader, Ermatinger, whose wife was his daughter, and that he had taken it to Montreal.²

² Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs*, pp. 293, 295, 305.

CHIANOKWUT.

Among others from Leech Lake was the principal warchief Chianokwut, called by the French, Convert du Temps (Cloudy Weather).

OJIBWAY AND SIOUX SKIRMISHES IN 1882.

Flat Mouth in the spring of 1832 led a war party beyond Crow Wing River, and met a band of Sioux, killed three and wounded about the same number, and lost one of their own men, who belonged to Cass Lake.

In 1832, Henry R. Schoolcraft, the Indian agent, visited the Upper Mississippi with an escort of soldiers under Lt. James Allen, U.S.A. The Rev. W. T. Boutwell, one of the associates of the Rev. Mr. Ferry, the Presbyterian missionary at Mackinaw, was invited to accompany the expedition.

On the night of the 7th of July a man came from Leech Lake and informed Schoolcraft of the recent skirmish of the Pillagers with the Sioux. The Ojibways lost one man and took three scalps. He also mentioned that a party of Sioux had been to Pembina, scalped a child, and fled. The Ojibways pursued and killed four Sioux, in revenge. Leech Lake was reached at 10 P.M. of the 16th of July. Mr. Boutwell in his Narrative¹ writes that early on the next morning "the principal chief [Flat Mouth] sent his *mishinne* , waiting-man, requesting Mr. Schoolcraft to come and breakfast with him.

¹ *Missionary Herald*, Boston, 1834.

FLAT MOUTH IN 1832.

"Decorum required him to comply with the request, though he was at liberty to furnish the table mostly himself. A mat spread in the middle of the floor served as a table, upon which the dishes were placed. Around this were spread others upon which the guests sat while the wife of the chief waited upon the table, and poured the tea. She afterward took breakfast by herself." After breakfast they proceeded to the chiefs headquarters which is thus described: "It is a building perhaps twenty feet by 479 twenty-five, made of logs, which I am informed was presented to him by one of the traders. As we entered, the old chief, bare-legged and bare-foot, sat with much dignity upon a cassette. A blanket, and

cloth about the loins, covered his otherwise naked body, which was painted black. His chief men occupied a bench by his side, while forty or more of his warriors sat on the floor around the walls of his room smoking. The old man arose and gave us his hand as we were introduced, bidding us to take a seat at his right, on his bed. As I cast my eye around upon this savage group, for once, I wished I possessed the painter's skill. The old chief had again returned to his seat upon the large wooden trunk, and as if to sit a little more like a white man than an Indian, had thrown one leg across the other knee. His warriors were all feathered, painted, and equipped for service. Many of them wore the insignia of courage, a strip of polecat skin around the head or heels, the bushy tail of the latter so attached as to drag on the ground; the crown of the head was ornamented with feathers, indicating the number of enemies the individual had killed, on one of which I counted no less than twelve.

“One side of his room was hung with an English and American flag, medals, war-clubs, lances, tomahawks, arrows, and other implements of death. The subject of vaccination was now presented to the chief, with which he was pleased, and ordered his people to assemble for that purpose. I stood by the doctor, and kept the minutes while he performed the business.

“Preparations were now making for taking our leave when the chief arose, and, giving his hand to each, spoke as follows, in reply to Mr. Schoolcraft, who had addressed them as ‘My children.’

480

FLAT MOUTH'S SPEECH.

“You call us children. We are not children, but men. When I think of the condition of my people I can hardly refrain from tears. It is so melancholy that even the trees weep over it. When I heard that you were coming to visit us, I felt inclined to go and meet you. I hoped that you would bring us relief. But if you did not furnish some relief, I thought I should go

Library of Congress

farther, to the people who wear big hats, in hopes of obtaining that relief from them, which the Long Knives [Americans] have so often promised.

“Our great father promised us, when we smoked the pipe with the Sioux at Prairie du Chien in 1825, and at Fond du Lac in 1826, that the first party who crossed the line, and broke the treaty, should be punished. This promise has not been fulfilled. Not a year has passed but some of our young men, our wives, and our children have fallen, and the blood that has begun to flow will not soon stop. I do not expect this year will close before more of my young men will fall. When my son was killed, about a year since, I determined not to lay down any arms as long as I can see the light of the sun. I do not think the Great Spirit ever made us to sit still and see our young men, our wives, and our children murdered.

“Since we have listened to the Long Knives, we have not prospered. They are not willing we should go ourselves, and flog our enemies, nor do they fulfil their promise and do it for us.’

“The medals of each chief and a string of wampum were now brought forth stained with vermilion.

“‘See our medals,’ and holding them up by the strings, he continued: ‘These and all your letters are stained with blood. I return them all to you to make them bright. 481 None of us wish to receive them back,’ laying them at Mr. Schoolcraft's feet, ‘until you have wiped off the blood.’

“Here a shout of approbation was raised by all his warriors present, and the old man, growing more eloquent, forgot that he was holding his blanket around his naked body with one hand, and it dropped from about him, and he proceeded:—

“The words of the Long Knives have passed through our forests as a rushing wind, but they have been words merely. They have only shaken the trees, but have not stopped to break them down, nor even to make the rough places smooth.

“It is not that we wish to be at war with the Sioux, but, when they enter our country and kill our people, we are obliged to revenge their death. Nor will I conceal from you the fact that I have already sent tobacco and pipestems to different bands to invite them to come to our relief. We have been successful in the late war, but we do not feel that we have taken sufficient revenge.’

“Here a bundle of sticks two inches long was presented, indicating the number of Ojibways killed by the Sioux since the treaty of 1825, amounting to forty-three. Just as we were ready to embark, the old man came out in his regimentals, a military coat faced with red, ruffled shirt, hat, pantaloons, gloves, and shoes. So entirely changed was his appearance that I did not recognize him until he spoke.

“This band is the largest and perhaps the most warlike in the whole Ojibway nation. It numbers 706, exclusive of a small band, probably 100 on Bear Island, one of the numerous islands in the lake.”

Schoolcraft in his Narrative mentions that Ma-je-ga-bowi, who tomahawked Governor Scruple, of Selkirk settlement, after he fell from his horse, was present at the council with Flat Mouth. 31

482

CONFLICTS OF SIOUX AND OJIBWAYS A.D. 1833.

The Sandy Lake band of Ojibways in February, 1833, sent out sixty warriors, under Songegomik, a young chief, who found nineteen teepees of the Sioux, and in the night surrounded them. Before sunrise the next day, the Ojibways opened fire, and without any injury to themselves, killed nineteen, and wounded forty of the Sioux. In retaliation a war party of about one hundred Sioux was formed, which attacked a fortified camp of Mille Lacs and Snake River Ojibways, and killed nine men and one woman.

THE ASTRONOMER NICOLLET IN 1836 VISITS THE LEECH LAKE OJIBWAYS.

On the 2d of July, 1836, a distinguished French astronomer, J. N. Nicoley or Nicollet (Nicolay), arrived in the steamboat Saint Peter at Fort Snelling, to explore the Upper Mississippi under the direction of the United States government, and left the fort on the 27th, for the sources of the Mississippi. He reached Leech Lake in August, and when the Pillager Ojibways found that he was only a poor scholar, with neither flour, nor beef, nor tobacco to give away, and constantly peeping through the tube of a telescope, they became very rude. The Rev. W. T. Boutwell, whose mission house was on the opposite side of the lake, hearing the shouts and drumming of the Indians, came over to the relief of Nicollet, who writes: "On the fourth day he arrived, and although totally unknown to each other previously, a sympathy of feeling arose growing out of the precarious circumstances under which we were both placed, and to which he had been much longer exposed than myself. This feeling from the kind attentions he paid me, soon ripened into affection and gratitude."¹

¹ Nicollet's Report. Senate Document No. 237, 26th U.S. Congress, 2d Session.

483

He reached the Falls of Saint Anthony on the 27th of September, 1836, upon his return from Lake Itasca, and wrote the following letter to Major Taliaferro at Fort Snelling, which showed he had not mastered the English language, "Dear friend; I arrived last evening about dark; all well, nothing lost, nothing broken, happy, and a very successful journey. But I done exhausted, and nothing can relieve me, but the pleasure of meeting you again under your hospitable roof, and to see all the friends of the garrison who have been so kind to me.

"This letter is more particularly to give you a very extra. ordinary tide. Flat Mouth, the chief of Leech Lake, and suite, ten in number, are with me. The day before yesterday, I met them again at Swan River, where they detained me one day. I had to bear a new

Library of Congress

harangue and gave answer. All terminated, by their own resolution, that they ought to give you the hand, as well as to the Guinas of the fort (Colonel Davenport). I thought it my duty to acquaint you with it beforehand. Peace or war are at stake of the visit they pay you. Please give them a good welcome until I have reported to you and Colonel Davenport all that has taken place during my stay among the Pillagers. But be assured I have not trespassed, and that I have behaved as a good citizen of the United States. As to Schoolcraft's statement alluding to you, you will have full and complete satisfaction from Flat Mouth himself. In haste, your friend, J. N. Nicoley.”¹

¹ Nicollet appears to have written his name in English at times Nicoley or Nicolay.

ALFRED AITKIN KILLED BY AN OJIBWAY.

Not many weeks after the visit of Nicollet to Leech Lake, on the sixth of December, Alfred, a mixed blood, the eldest son of William Aitkin² of Sandy Lake, who, for

² He came to the Indian country about A.D. 1802.

484 years, had been in charge of the posts of the American Fur Company west of Lake Superior, and east of the Mississippi, in what is now Minnesota, was killed at Red Cedar, now Cass Lake. He was twenty-two years of age, and had come down the night before from Red Lake. One of his voyageurs who had gone to draw some water, came back and said that an Ojibway had broken open and entered the store. Aitkin went and pushed him out, and took from him an axe, but while he was locking the storedoor, the Indian fired his gun and killed him. The father, as soon as he received the intelligence, went to Leech Lake for assistance, and in a little time twenty half-breeds, with Francis Brunette, at the head, offered their assistance. With the father they went to the camp where the murderer was, beyond Cass Lake, determined to cut off the whole band, should they attempt to rescue him.

Library of Congress

William Aitkin, in a letter to H. R. Schoolcraft, Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, wrote: "Our friend Mr. Boutwell joined the party with his musket on his shoulders, as a man and a Christian, for he knew it was a righteous cause."

Upon reaching the band, the murderer was seized and the excited parent would have killed the assassin on the spot, but the missionary Boutwell advised to take him where he could be tried under the laws of the land. Two days after his arrest, he managed to escape, but after a six days' pursuit by the half-breeds he was recaptured.

On the 20th of February, 1837, he was brought down to Fort Snelling by the trader Morrison, and on the 11th of May, the accused, and the father of the murdered, left Fort Snelling, to attend the court to be held at Prairie du Chien.

The trial of the Ojibway is said to have been the first murder case under the territorial code of Wisconsin. One of the jurors in the trial of the case writes: "The 485 case was conducted with very few formalities; and whenever the court took a recess, the jury were locked up in a grocery, where, for the sum of seventy-five cents each, we could have all the liquor we wanted, provided we did not waste or carry any away. Imbibing was quite prevalent among all classes in that day and if each of the jurymen drank his seventy-five cents worth, the judge and counsel could not have been far behind, and some individual was heard to say that the prisoner was the only sober man in the court-room.¹ After the jury was charged, we were locked up two or three nights, and on the third morning we brought in a verdict of not guilty and he was discharged."

¹ It was alleged at the trial that young Aitkin had persuaded the squaw of the Indian to desert her husband. *Wis. Hist. Soc. Coll.* vol. v. p. 271.

TREATY WITH OJIBWAYS AT FORT SNELLING.

During the summer of 1837, Charles Vineyard, a subagent, was sent to invite the Ojibways to a council at Fort Snelling, with the United States commissioner Gov. Henry Dodge.

Library of Congress

Twelve hundred assembled in July, and a treaty was concluded on the 29th of the month, under some excitement, caused by the custom which had grown up within a few years, of holding a whole tribe responsible to the traders for the bad debts of individuals.²

² See Neill's *History of Minnesota*, 5th edition, 1883, pp. 922, 923.

The treaty was approved on the 15th of June, 1838, by the President and Senate of the United States, Under it the Ojibways ceded all the country within the following limits: "Beginning at the junction of the Crow Wing and Mississippi Rivers, between twenty and thirty miles above where the Mississippi is crossed by the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude, and running thence to the north point of Lake St. Croix, one of the sources of the St. Croix River; thence to and along the dividing ridge between the waters 486 of Lake Superior and those of the Mississippi to the sources of the Ocha-sau-sepe, a tributary of the Chippewa River; thence to a point on the Chippewa River twenty miles below the outlet of Lake de Flambeau; thence to the junction of the Wisconsin and Pelican Rivers; thence on an east course twenty-five miles; thence southerly on a course parallel with that of the Wisconsin River, to the line dividing the territories of the Chippewas and Menomonies; thence to Plover Portage; thence along the northern boundary of the Chippewa country to the commencement of the boundary line dividing it from that of the Sioux, half a day's march below the Falls, on the Chippewa River; thence with said boundary line to the north of Wattap River, at its junction with the Mississippi; and thence up the Mississippi to the place of beginning."

HOLE-IN-THE-DAY ATTACKS SIOUX.

In the spring of 1838 a party of Sioux, with their families, accompanied by Rev. G. H. Pond, one of the Presbyterian missionaries, left Lac-qui-Parle, to hunt in the upper part of the valley of Chippewa River, near the site of the town of Benton, in Swift County, Minnesota. The number of lodges was six, but on one Thursday in April, Mr. Pond and three lodges of Sioux were separated from the others. That evening there arrived at the

Library of Congress

other lodges Hole-in-the-Day, with his young son and nine Ojibways. The Sioux in these lodges were three men, and ten or eleven women or children. Hole-in-the, Day said he had come to smoke the pipe of peace, and was cordially received. Two dogs were killed, and he was treated to the luxury of dog-meat.

At length all lay down, but all did not sleep. At midnight Hole-in-the-Day and party arose, and massacred the sleeping Sioux, with the exception of a woman, and a wounded boy, who escaped, and a girl whom they took 487 prisoner. The woman found the lodges, where the Rev. Mr. Pond was, and he accompanied by one Sioux went and buried the mutilated and scalped bodies.

CONFERENCE WITH HOLE-IN-THE-DAY.

The sub-agent Vineyard was sent from Fort Snelling the next June to visit Hole-in-the-Day, and with Peter Quinn as interpreter held a council on an island in the Mississippi River a short distance above Little Falls. After some discussion the Sioux woman who was captured in April was given up.

HOLE-IN-THE-DAY IN 1838 AT FORT SNELLING.

On the 2d of August, to the regret of Major Plympton, the officer in command, Hole-in-the-Day and other Ojibways visited Fort Snelling. The next evening a Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. Samuel W. Pond, met Taliaferro, the Indian agent at Lake Harriet, and told him that a number of armed Sioux from Mud Lake had gone to B. F. Baker's stone trading house¹ between the fort and Minne Haha Falls, for the purpose of attacking the Ojibways. The agent hastened to the spot and reached the point just as the first gun was fired. An Ottawa half-breed of Hole-in-the-Day's party was killed, and another was wounded. Of the Sioux, Tokali's son was shot by Obequette of Red Lake, just as he was scalping the dead man.

¹ Afterwards used as a hotel, and then destroyed by fire.

Major Plympton had Hole-in-the-Day and comrades placed under the protection of the fort, and at nine o'clock at night a Sioux was confined in the guard house as a hostage. The next day the major and Indian agent held a council with the Sioux, and Plympton said: "It is unnecessary to talk much. I have demanded the guilty; they must be brought."

488

The Sioux assented, and at half past five in the afternoon, two sons of Tokali were delivered with much ceremony. Their old mother said: "Of seven sons, only three are left; one of them was wounded and soon would die, and if the two now given up were shot, her all was gone. I called on the head men to follow me to the fort. I started with the prisoners, singing their death song, and have delivered them at the gates of the fort. Have mercy upon them, for their folly and for their youth."

But this night, notwithstanding the murdered man of Hole-in-the-Day's party had been buried in the military graveyard for safety, an attempt was made by the Sioux, to dig up his remains. On the evening of the sixth of August, Major Plympton sent Hole-in-the-Day and party home, giving them provisions, and sending them across the Mississippi.

HOLE-IN-THE-DAY IN 1839 AT FORT SNELLING.

In June, 1839, Hole-in-the-Day again determined to come down to Fort Snelling, and on the 18th the Indian agent sent a letter to him by Stephen Bonga¹ or Bungo, but on the 20th, Hole-in-the-Day arrived with five hundred Ojibways and asked permission to remain three days. The next day, under a canopy near the walls of the fort, the Ojibways held a council with the Sioux, Bonga acting as their interpreter. On Sunday the 23d, the whole number of Ojibways at the fort was eight hundred and forty-six, and twelve hundred Sioux. The day was passed in dancing

1 His grandparents were negro slaves of Capt. Daniel Robertson, British commandant at Mackinaw from 1782 to 1787. After his death they remained, and Kelton gives the following marriage from the Parish Register:: "1794, June 25th, Jean Bonga and Jeanne?"

Library of Congress

The married couple, Kelton mentions, kept the first inn on the island. In 1800 a negro named Pierre Bonga was with Alexander Henry of the Northwest Company in the valley of the Red River of the North. George Bonga, supposed to be the father of Stephen, was an interpreter of Gov. Cass in 1820 at Fond du Lac. Stephen died in 1884.

489 together, and in foot races. The next day a man by the name of Libbey came up in the steamboat Ariel, and sold thirty-six gallons of whisky to Scott Campbell the Sioux interpreter, and the next night the Sioux and Ojibways presented the scene of a pandemonium.¹

¹ Taliaferro's MS. Journal.

Upon Sunday the 30th of June Hole-in-the-Day announced his intention to return to his own country, and on the 1st day of July the Sioux and Ojibways even smoked the pipe of peace, and Hole-in-the-Day began his ascent of the Mississippi. Two Pillager Ojibways² however remained near the fort, and passing over to Lake Harriet, about sunrise on the morning of the 2d, killed Badger, a Sioux, on his way to hunt.

² Relations of the man shot the summer before.

BATTLES OF SIOUX AND OJIBWAYS JULY 4, 1839.

The excitement now became great among the Sioux, and in a little while war parties were in pursuit of their old foes. The Lake Calhoun Sioux with those from the villages on the Minnesota River assembled at the Falls of St. Anthony, and started in pursuit of the Mille Lacs band of Ojibways, and on the morning of the 4th of July before sunrise, found them in the valley of Rum River, and attacking them killed and wounded about ninety. The Kaposia band of Sioux pursued the Saint Croix Ojibways, and on the third of July found them encamped with their trader Aitkin, in the ravine at Stillwater, where the Minnesota Penitentiary is now situated, quite intoxicated. The sight of the Sioux tended to make

them sober, but in the fight twenty-one of their number were killed, and twenty-nine were wounded.

490

OJIBWAYS RECEIVED BY QUEEN VICTORIA.

The United States government has always frowned upon the attempts of speculators to exhibit Indians for the purpose of gain. Joel R. Poinsett, Secretary of War under President Van Buren, in a letter to George Catlin, the painter of Indian portraits, expressed the sentiments of every high-minded citizen when he wrote: "I consider such proceedings as calculated to degrade the red man, and certainly not to exalt the whites engaged with them."

An adventurer under the name of Rankin succeeded, in 1839, in taking some Ojibways to England, and arrangements were made to exhibit them in connection with Catlin's portraits. The principal Indian was Ah-quee-wezanits, about seventy-five years of age. The half-breed interpreter was Louis Cadotte. It had been arranged as a precautionary measure that the Ojibways should abstain from intoxicating liquors. In an interview with the Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, Master of the Household to Queen Victoria, they were offered champagne, which they at first, remembering their agreement, refused, but, he assuring them that the drink would not intoxicate, they drank, and from that hour they talked about the Chee-ee Pop-po¹ by day, and dreamed of it by night. After this, they were formally presented to the Queen, who presented them with several hundred dollars. The interpreter, Louis Cadotte, was of fine appearance, and a pretty and respectable English girl fell in love with him, and with the consent of her parents they were married in St. Martin's Church, London. She came with him to Sault Ste. Marie, and after her death he was said to have been much depressed.

¹ Catlin mentions they gave champagne the name chick-a-bob-boo, because when the corkscrew was introduced there was a fizz, which sounded like cheeee, and then the popping out of the cork. See Catlin's *Ogibbeway Indians*.

491

CONFLICTS OF SIOUX AND OJIBWAYS CONTINUED.

During the summer of 1840, a Sioux and his wife were killed by Ojibways on the right bank of the Mississippi, near the mouth of the brook between Mendota and Saint Paul.

On the eighth of April, 1841, three Ojibways came down the Mississippi in a canoe, which they left between St. Anthony and Minnehaha Falls, and hid themselves during the night near a footpath on the bank of the Mississippi about a mile above Fort Snelling. As a Sioux chief was passing in the morning with his son, they fired, killing the boy and mortally wounding the father.

BATTLE OF POKEGUMA.

Pokeguma¹ is a beautiful lake four or five miles long, and about a mile wide, connected With Snake River, about twenty miles above its junction with the river St. Croix. In the year 1836, missionaries supported by the Presbyterian and Congregational churches established a mission here, and built a residence on the east side of the lake, while the Ojibway village was on an island.

¹ In the treaty of 1842 spelled Po-ke-gom-maw.

The mission was for a time prosperous, and in a letter written in 1837, one of the missionaries writes: "The young women and girls now make, mend, wash, and iron after our manner. The men have learned to build log houses, drive team, plough, hoe, and handle an American axe."

Library of Congress

In May 1841, Jeremiah Russel now living at Sauk Rapids, then Indian farmer at this point, sent two Ojibways accompanied by Elam Greeley of Stillwater to the Falls of St. Croix for supplies. They arrived there on Saturday the fifteenth of the month, and the next day a 492 steamboat arrived with goods. The captain said that a war party of Sioux headed by Big Thunder, called Little Crow by the whites, was advancing, and the Ojibways prepared to go back and warn their friends. They had not proceeded far when they discovered the foe, and quickly discharged their guns and killed two of Big Thunder's sons. The Sioux returned the fire, and mortally wounded one of the Ojibways. According to custom, the bodies of the chief's sons were ornamented, and set up with their faces towards the enemy's country, and the Ojibway was horribly mangled by the Sioux, and his scalped head placed in a kettle was suspended in front of their dead companions.

Big Thunder, disheartened by the loss of his sons, returned with his party to Kaposia, a village a few miles below Saint Paul, and on the opposite side of the Mississippi, but there were other parties on the war-path.

It was not until Friday, the 21st of May, that the death of the Ojibway was known at Lake Pokeguma. Mr. Russell, on the next Sunday, accompanied by a half-breed, and Capt. William Holcomb, subsequently the first Lieutenant Governor of Minnesota, went to the mission house to attend a religious service, and in returning the half-breed said there was a rumor that Sioux were approaching. On Monday, three young men left in a canoe, to go to the west shore of the lake, and from thence to Mille Lacs, to give intelligence to the Ojibways there resident. They took in the canoe two girls about twelve years of age, pupils of the mission school, for the purpose of bringing the canoe back to the island. Just as the three were landing, twenty or thirty Sioux with a war-whoop emerged from their hiding place and fired into the canoe. The young men instantly jumped into the water, which was shallow, returned the fire, and ran into the woods. The little girls waded into the lake and were pursued. Their 493 parents upon the island heard the death cries of their children. Their fathers, burning for revenge, left the island in a canoe, and drawing

it upon the shore of the lake, hid behind it, opened fire upon and killed one of the Sioux. The Sioux approaching, they again launched the canoe, one lay on his back at the bottom, the other plunged into the water, and holding the canoe with one hand, and swimming with the other, he pushed the canoe beyond the reach of the foe. As the Sioux would aim at him he dodged their shot, by putting his head under water, and waiting until he heard the discharge of their guns. After a skirmish of two hours, the Sioux, numbering over one hundred retreated, having lost two men.

At the request of the parent Mr. E. F. Ely, the catechist of the mission, went across the lake with two of his friends to collect the mutilated remains of his pupils. He found their heads cut off and scalped, with a tomahawk buried in the brains of each. Their bodies were pierced in the breast, and the right arm of one was broken away. Removing the tomahawks, he brought the bodies to the island, and in the afternoon they were buried with the simple and solemn rites of Christianity.

OJIBWAYS IN 1842 ATTACK KAPOZIA SIOUX.

In June, 1842, an Ojibway war party of about forty was formed at Fond du Lac in the valley of the St. Louis River, and appeared at the marsh below what is now the city of Saint Paul, and opposite to the Kaposia village of Sioux, of which Big Thunder was chief, and killed a Sioux, the wife of Gamelle a Canadian, and another woman and child. The Sioux warriors came over from the other side, and they lost ten men, and one known as the Dancer was horribly mutilated, while the Ojibways had only four killed.

494

TREATY OF 1842 AT LA POINTE ISLAND.

On the 4th of October, 1842, a treaty was concluded at La Pointe between Robert Stuart, U.S. commissioner, and the Ojibways of Lake Superior and the Mississippi by which they ceded to the United States the country "beginning at the mouth of Chocolate River of Lake Superior, thence northwardly across the lake to intersect. the boundary line between the

Library of Congress

United States and the Province of Canada; thence up said Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Louis or Fond du Lac River (including all the islands in said lake); thence up said river to the American Fur Company's post, at the southwardly bend thereof, about twenty-two miles from its mouth; thence south to intersect the line of the treaty of July 29, 1837, with the Chippewas of the Mississippi; thence along said line to its southeastwardly extremity near the Plover Portage on the Wisconsin River; thence northeastwardly along the boundary line between the Chippewas and Menonomees, to its eastern termination on the Skonawby River of Green Bay; thence northwardly to the source of Chocolate River; thence down said river to its mouth, the place of beginning."

DEATH OF THE ELDER ROLE-IN-THE-DAY.

In the spring of 1847, the distinguished chief Hole-in-the-Day, while intoxicated, fell from a Red River cart near Platte River, Benton County, Minnesota, and soon died. He was buried upon a high bluff not far distant. For a quarter of a century he had exerted a great influence among his tribe.

In 1820, the principal chiefs of the Sandy Lake Ojibways were Kadewabedas, an old man called by the French, Breche or Brechedent; by the English, Broken Tooth; and Babikesundeba or Curly Head.

Broken Tooth in 1785 is mentioned in connection with traders at Sandy Lake, and Lieutenant Pike met him in 1806, and in 1828 he died at a great age. Curly Head, mentioned by Pike in 1806, and visited by Cuss in 1820, after attending the treaty at Prairie du Chien in 1825, became sick while returning to his village, and died. Hole-in-the-Day was with him at this time, and soon after became a prominent chief. Two prominent traders, Ashmun and Ermatinger, lived with sisters of his wife, who was a daughter of Biaswah. Already in this article allusions have been made to his bold career. In the fifth volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, the Rev. Alfred Brunson, who had

been the superintendent of a Methodist mission among the Sioux below Saint Paul, and afterwards U.S. agent for the Ojibways, gives the following reminiscences of this chief:—

BRUNSON'S DESCRIPTION OF HOLE-IN-THE-DAY.

“Some time in June of this year [1838], Miles Vineyard, sub-agent to the Chippewas on the Upper Mississippi, ascended the river to a point a short distance above Little Falls and summoned Hole-in-the-Day and his band to a council, and demanded the prisoner.

“In July, 1838, not knowing of this movement, I ascended the river, to the same point, with a view to establish a mission and school among those Indians. I found them in council, on an island. As is their custom, when a stranger arrives, all business was suspended till the newcomers were introduced....I had heard so much of Hole-in-the-Day that I was anxious to see him. The council was in a thicket on an island. The underbrush had been cut out and piled in the centre, and perhaps fifty braves seated on the ground in the circle. The agent and his *attaches* were seated in like manner under a tree on one side of the circle, by the side of whom I and my attendants were assigned the place of honor, and looking in vain for one of distinguished appearance, I inquired of my 496 interpreter which was the great chief, and he pointed to the dirtiest, most scowling, and savage-looking man in the crowd, who was lying on a pile of brush in the centre, as if, as I found to be the fact, he was alone on his side of the question to be settled. All others had agreed, before my arrival, to release the prisoner. As they resumed business, a dead silence occurred of some minutes, all waiting for his final answer. At length he rose up with impetuosity, as if shot with a gun. His blanket, innocent of water since he owned it, was drawn over his left shoulder and around his body, his right arm swinging in the air, his eyes flashing like lightning, his brow scowled as if a thundergust had settled on it, and his long hair literally snapping in the air, from the quick motion of his head. I thought of Hercules with every hair a serpent, and every serpent hissing.

“He came forward, as is their custom, and shook hands with the agent, and all the whites present, and then stepping back a short distance, orator-like, to give himself room for motion, and swinging his right arm, said, addressing the agent:—

“My father! I don’t keep this prisoner out of any ill-will to you, nor out of any ill-will to my Great Father at Washington; nor out of ill-will to these men [gracefully waving his hand back and around the circle], but I hate the Sioux. They have killed my relatives, and I’ll have revenge. You call me chief, and so I am, by nature, as well as by office, and I challenge any of these men to dispute my title to it. If I am chief, then my word is law, otherwise you might as well put this medal [showing the one received from Governor Cass] upon an old woman.’ lie then threw himself upon a pile of brush. Finally, he arose again, but a little milder in manner, said:—

“My father! for your sake, and for the sake of these men [waving his hand around the circle], I’ll give up the 497 prisoner, and go myself and deliver her at the fort.’ As this would have been injudicious, he at length consented to deliver the prisoner to the agent. In a little while, however, he determined to go uninvited to the fort, and the result has already been narrated.”¹ Schoolcraft² described Hole-in-the-Day as “one of the most hardened and bloodthirsty wretches,” and mentions that Mr. Aitkin, the elder, told him “that having once surprised and killed a Sioux family, the fellow picked up a little girl, who had fled from the lodge, and pitched her into the Mississippi. The current bore her against a point of land, and seeing it, the hardened wretch ran down and again pushed her in.”

¹ See page 488.

² *Personal Memoirs*, p. 611.

TREATY OF FOND DU LAC, MINNESOTA, A. D. 1847.

In 1847, Hon. Henry M. Rice, now of St. Paul, late U. S. Senator from Minnesota, and Isaac A. Verplanck, of Buffalo, New York, were appointed commissioners to treat with the

Ojibways for the country between the Wattap and Crow Wing Rivers. Hole-in-the-Day, the son of the recently deceased chief of that name, made his appearance in council for the first time as chief and addressed the commissioners as follows:—

SPEECH OF CHIEF HOLE-IN-THE-DAY, THE YOUNGER.

“Our Great Father instructed you to come here, for the purpose of asking Us to sell a large piece of land, lying on and west of the Mississippi River. To accomplish this you have called together all the chiefs and head men of the nation who to the number of many hundreds are within the hearing of my voice: that was useless, for they do not own the land; it belongs to me. My father, by his bravery, took it from the Sioux. He died a few moons ago, and what belonged to him became mine. He, by his courage 32 498 and perseverance, became head chief of all the Chippewas, and when he died I took his place, and am consequently chief over all the nation. To this position I am doubly entitled, for I am as brave as my father was, and through my mother I am by descent the legal heir to the position.

“Now, if I say sell, our Great Father will obtain the land; if I say no, you will tell him he cannot have it. The Indians assembled here have nothing to say, they can but do my bidding.”

After this speech, the commissioners negotiated with him, and when he was satisfied with the propositions made, he was told that they must be explained to all the Indians, and their consent obtained. He did not like this, but the commissioners had the treaty explained by the interpreters, and they agreed to it without a dissenting voice. They were then called to sign the treat), and waited for Hole-in-the-Day first to attach his mark. This he refused to do, but told them to walk up in order of rank, and sign the paper, which they did.

After this, he said to commissioner Rice, that on the next day he would sign, but did not wish his name to appear with the common Indians. After some conversation, it was

arranged that below, after the sentence "I approve of this treaty and consent to the same," he should sign his name, and so it appears in the printed treaty.

OJIBWAYS AFTER THE ORGANIZATION, IN 1849, OF MINNESOTA TERRITORY.

After the treaty of 1837, the Mississippi Ojibways received their first annuities at Lake St. Croix, but owing to their conflict with the Sioux, in 1839, La Pointe became the place where they received their payments. By the treaty of 1847 at Fond du Lac of St. Louis River, it was stipulated that they should receive their payments on the Mississippi. In 1849, a farm for their benefit was made 499 at Gull Lake, and some of the Ojibways moved there with five chiefs.

Alexander Ramsey, as Governor of Minnesota Territory, was ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In June, 1850, he visited the Ojibway country of the Upper Mississippi, with William Warren as interpreter, to select a suitable place for an agency, and the sub-agent at La Pointe removed to Sandy Lake.

OJIBWAYS KILLED AT APPLE RIVER.

During the month of April, 1850, there was a renewal of hostilities between the Sioux and Ojibways on lands that had been ceded to the United States. A Sioux warprophet at Red Wing village dreamed that he ought to raise a war party. Announcing the fact, a number volunteered to go, and several from the Kaposia village joined them. The leader of the party was a worthless fellow who the year before had been confined in the guard-house at Fort Snelling for scalping his wife.

Passing up the valley of the Saint Croix, a few miles above Stillwater, they discovered on the snow the marks of a keg and foot-prints. From these, they knew that Ojibways were returning from a whiskey shop. Following their trail, they found on the Apple River, a tributary of the Saint Croix, a party of Ojibways in one large wigwam. Waiting till daybreak, on the 2d of April the Sioux fired on the unsuspecting inmates, fifteen in all, and none

Library of Congress

were left alive, except a boy, who was taken prisoner. The next day the Sioux came to Stillwater, and danced the scalp-dance around the captive, striking him in the face at times with the scarcely cold scalps of his relatives. The child was then taken to Kaposia, the Sioux village below Saint Paul, and adopted by the chief.

Governor Ramsey immediately took measures to send the boy to his friends. At a conference held at the Governor's 500 house, the boy was delivered up, and on being taken to the kitchen by a little son of the Governor, since deceased, he cried, seeming more afraid of his white friends than his dusky captors.

HOLE-IN-THE-DAY AT SAINT PAUL.

On the afternoon of the 15th of May, naked and painted Sioux warriors were seen in Saint Paul much excited. A few hours before the Ojibway chief, young Hole-in-the-Day, had secreted his canoe in a gorge near the western suburbs, and with two or three associates crossed the river, attacked a small party of Sioux, and killed one man. To adjust the difficulties Gov. Ramsey held a council on the 12th of June, and the contending parties, as they had often done before, promised to live in peace.

FAMINE AND CANNIBALISM.

During the winter of 1850–51, the Ojibways of Red, Cass, Leech, and Sandy Lakes, suffered much from want of food. About the first of October, 1850, the Indians collected at the new agency at Sandy Lake to receive their annuities, and here, to their disappointment, they were kept seven or eight weeks awaiting the arrival of provisions. During this period the measles and dysentery prevailed, and many died. With only a partial payment, they began to go to their homes. A family consisting of a man, wife, and two children, and wife's brother, left Sandy Lake in health, but when about half way to Leech Lake, the wife's brother was taken sick and died. They buried him and continued their journey. Then the two children became sick. The father carried his son, and the mother the daughter. The night before they reached Leech Lake the boy died and the father continued

Library of Congress

to carry him. The next day the daughter died, and the parents appeared at Leech Lake with their dead children on their backs.

501

Missionary J. P. Bardwell, of Cass Lake, in his report to the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, refers to the most shocking case of cannibalism that he ever heard of.

An Indian west of Cass Lake, with his wife, and two daughters, and son-in-law, had killed and eaten fifteen persons, most of whom were their own children and grandchildren. A writer in the Minnesota Democrat, under date of July 29, 1851, gives a more particular account. He writes: "They were reduced to a starving condition, and the mothers commenced killing and eating their children. They fed voraciously upon the flesh, and became passionately fond of it." After all of the children had been despatched but a boy of eighteen years, "in the latter part of winter, his mother called him to her, and requested him to put his head in her lap, under pretence of desiring to look for vermin. The boy complied. The mother had some molten lead which she poured into his ear, and killed him. His cries of agony alarmed the old people. The old man told his wife to go and see what was the matter. She went and looked into the door of the lodge, and there saw the woman with the body of the boy on the fire, singeing his hair off. She said to her 'come in and get some; it is good.'"

OJIBWAYS, IN 1858, ATTACK SIOUX IN ST. PAUL.

On the 9th of April, 1853, a party of Ojibways killed a Sioux, at Shakopee, and then Sioux from Kaposia killed an Ojibway in the valley of the Saint Croix River.

On the morning of the 27th, some Ojibways could have been seen lurking on the elevation, behind the marsh in Saint Paul, now filled with railways and warehouses. Perceiving a canoe of Sioux coming up the river from Kaposia, they hurried to the neighborhood of Third and Jackson Streets, and saw the Sioux land from their canoe, walk up Jackson Street, and go into a trading house, which 502 stood at the southeast corner of those

Library of Congress

streets. As they entered, the Ojibways fired and mortally wounded a Sioux woman. A Sioux, who had lost a leg in a fight several years before, seizing a gun in the store, pursued the foe a short distance.

Messengers were despatched to Fort Snelling, and a party of dragoons under Lt. W. B. Magruder were soon in pursuit of the Ojibways, who were overtaken the next day at the Falls of Saint Croix. The dragoons fired upon them, and an Ojibway was killed. His scalp was brought to Saint Paul and photographed. An engraving from the photograph soon after appeared in Graham's Magazine, published in Philadelphia.

TREATY OF 1854, WITH OJIBWAYS.

A treaty was made in 1854, by which the Ojibways of Lake Superior ceded the region "beginning at a point where the east branch of Snake River crosses the southern boundary line of the Chippewa country, running thence up the said branch to its source; thence nearly north, in a straight line, to the mouth of the East Savannah River; thence up the Saint Louis River to the mouth of East Swan River; thence up the East Swan River to its source; thence in a straight line to the most westerly bend of Vermilion River; and thence down the Vermilion River to its mouth."

TREATY OF 1855.

In 1855, an important treaty was made at Washington between the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Ojibways. By one of its provisions a patent for a section of land was to be given to Pug-o-na-ke-shiek or Hole-in-the-Day.

LAST CONFLICT OF OJIBWAYS WITH THE SIOUX.

Early on Thursday morning, May 27, 1858, a party of Mille Lacs Ojibways, numbering about one hundred and 503 fifty, appeared opposite the Sioux village, not far from the town of Shakopee, on the Minnesota River. A Sioux, who was fishing on the banks of the

Library of Congress

stream, was shot and scalped, and then the infuriated Sioux began to cross the river at Major Murphy's ferry, and in the open meadows came in contact with their old foes. Three Ojibways were killed in the fight and one died, near Lake Minnetonka. About ten o'clock in the morning the rest withdrew. Seven of the wounded arrived at the Falls of Saint Anthony that night. Doctors Murphy and Rankin visited them. One had been shot by an ounce ball, in the lower jaw, which also carried away a portion of the tongue. A chief of Mille Lacs, known as Wah-de-nah, was shot above the knee and the bone splintered. The others had wounds that were not serious. On Friday afternoon, they were placed on board the steamboat Enterprise, which ran above the Falls toward their homes.

HOLE-IN-THE-DAY, THE YOUNGER, UNRULY.

On the eighteenth of August, 1862, the uprising of the Sioux against the whites began at Red Wood agency, on the Minnesota River, and led to the massacre of more than five hundred of the defenceless men, women, and children of the frontier. It is worthy of note, that on that very day, the Ojibways at Gull Lake arrested several white persons, and talked about attacking the agency, then in charge of Major L. C. Walker. The next morning, agent Walker left for Crow Wing, and met troops coming from Fort Ripley. Returning with them, the Gull Lake chief was arrested. Walker again left for Saint Cloud, to consult with the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on his way to Grand Forks, on the Red River of the North, to make a treaty with the Ojibways of that region. Meanwhile, the Ojibways of Leech Lake had risen, held all the whites but two, seven in number, prisoners, and brought 504 them down to Gull Lake, where they were released. Agent Walker, on his way to Saint Cloud, under excitement, committed suicide. U.S. Commissioner Role abandoning his journey to Grand Forks, came to Fort Ripley, with a military escort. He proposed to Hole-in-the-Day that there should be a council at Fort Ripley, but the chief declined to come. It was then arranged that there should be a conference at Crow Wing. On the 12th of September, the house of Hole-in-the-Day was burned by two white men, who were indignant at his course. The same night, about ten o'clock, three Ojibway chiefs, and three warriors, from Leech Lake, left the hostile camp, crossed the river, and conferred with the acting Indian agent.

Library of Congress

The night of the 13th, they went back to Holein-the-Day's camp, and the morning of the 14th returned with their families.

In council with the authorities of the United States, Wasec, a Pillager brave, said: "My father, I am not afraid to tell you the name of the one who led us to do wrong to the whites. It was Hole-in-the-Day who caused us to go astray by his bad advice. He sent messengers through to the lake, saying that our Great Father intended to send men, and take all Indians and dress them like soldiers, and send them away to fight in the south; and if we wish to save ourselves we must rise and fight the whites, and take them and their goods from the lake. The next day, after we had robbed our traders, another messenger arrived from Hole-in-the-Day, saying the white soldiers had shot at him, and in revenge wished us to kill all the whites at the lake, but our chiefs said, No; if Hole-in-the-Day wishes to kill the whites, let him commence first."

After this defection, upon the part of the Pillagers, Hole-in-the-Day became quiet and reasonable.¹

¹ Report of U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862.

505

TREATY OF MARCH, 1863.

On the 11th of March, 1863, a treaty was concluded by which the Mississippi, and the Pillager, and Lake Winnibigoshish bands of Ojibways relinquished Gull Lake and other reservations, and accepted the region, "beginning at a point, one mile south of the most southerly point of Leech Lake; thence easterly to a point, one mile south of the most southerly point of Goose Lake; thence due east to a point due south from the intersection of the Pokagomin reservation and the Mississippi River; thence on the dividing line between Deer River Lakes and Mashkordens River and Lakes, until a point is reached north of Deer River Lakes; thence in a direct line northwesterly to the outlet of the Two Routes Lake; thence in a southwesterly direction to Karbekaun River; thence down

Library of Congress

said river to the lake of the same name; thence due south to a point due west from the beginning; thence to the place of beginning.”

TREATY OF OCTOBER, 1863.

The Red Lake and Pembina Ojibways on the 2d of October, 1863, by treaty, ceded the lands, “beginning at the point where the international boundary between the United States and the British Possessions intersects the shores of the Lake of the Woods; thence in a direct line southwestwardly to the head of Thief River; thence down the main channel of said Thief River to its mouth on the Red Lake River; thence in a southeasterly direction, in a direct line towards the head of Wild Rice River, to the point where such line would intersect the northwestern boundary of the tract ceded by the treaty of February, 1855; thence along the boundary line of said cession to the mouth of Wild Rice River; thence up the main channel of the Red River to the mouth of the Shayenne River; 506 thence up its main channel to Poplar Grove; thence in a direct line to the “Place of Stumps,” otherwise called Lake Chicot; thence in a direct line to the head of the main branch of Salt River; thence in a direct line due north to the point where such line would intersect the international boundary; thence eastwardly to the place of beginning.”

TREATY OF 1864.

A treaty was made with the Ojibways of the Mississippi on May 7, 1864, by which reservations were to be selected for the different bands, on the Upper Mississippi, and therein; \$5000 was allowed Hole-in-the-Day for the burning of his house during the troubles of 1862.

TREATY OF 1866.

The Bois Forte Ojibways on April 7, 1866, concluded a treaty by which they ceded all their lands around Lake Vermilion.

DEATH OF THE YOUNGER HOLE-IN-THE-DAY.

In 1864 the younger Hole-in-the-Day succeeded in captivating a young white woman employed at the National Hotel, Washington, and she accompanied him to his log house, near Crow Wing, and became the companion of his Indian wives. During the morning of the 27th of June, 1868, he went in a buggy to the Indian agency two miles distant, and from thence to Crow Wing. While returning, and passing a thicket near the agency, some of his tribe who disliked him, appeared, and one shot him. The wound was fatal, and he fell from the buggy and died. After taking his blanket and the valuables on his person, they rode in the buggy to his house, and announced to his wives that the chief had been killed. One or two went 507 up stairs to the loft where the babe of the white wife was sleeping, but the child was not molested. They ransacked the house and took what they wanted, and left with a horse for Leech Lake.

The chief was buried in the Roman Catholic churchyard at Crow Wing. His son by his white wife was adopted by a family in Minneapolis, and educated in the public schools, and is now an intelligent youth. His mother afterwards married a white man by the name of Sullivan who was not as kind to her as Hole-in-the-Day.

OJIBWAYS OF MINNESOTA IN 1883.

The Ojibways of Minnesota are on three reservations at Red Lake, Leech Lake, and White Earth. The Pembina band live eighteen miles north of the White Earth agency, and the Otter Tail Pillagers dwell about eight miles east of the agency. There are also some Ojibways in the northeastern portion of the State. According to the report of U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1883, their numbers were as follows:—

WHITE EARTH AGENCY.

Mississippi Ojibways 896

Library of Congress

Otter Tail Pillagers 570

Pembina band 235

Pillagers of Lakes Cass and Winnebago 851

Leech Lake 1137

Mississippi 95

Mille Lacs 894

LA POINTE AGENCY.

Red Cliff 188

Bois Forte 700

Grand Portage, Lake Superior 236

Fond du Lac 431

508

OJIBWAYS OF WISCONSIN.

Soon after, the refugee Hurons and Ottawas retired from Northern Wisconsin, the Ojibways by way of Montreal and Bois Brulé Rivers, entered the country about the sources of the Black, Chippewa, and Saint Croix Rivers, and occupied the old-plantations (vieux deserts) of the Ottawa Lakes, Lac Court Oreilles, and Lac du Flambeau.

Court Oreilles band number 841

Lac du Flambeau " 480

Bad River " 460

OJIBWAYS OF MICHIGAN.

The establishment of a central trading post in 1701, at Detroit. led some of the Ojibways to hunt and fish on the shores of Lake Huron, especially about Saginaw Bay. Jonathan Carver who visited the country in 1766, mentions¹ that the promontory between Lakes Huron and Michigan was divided "between the Ottowaw and Chipéway Indians," and on another page writes: "A great number of the Chipéway Indians live scattered around this lake [Huron], particularly near Saginaw Bay."

¹ Carver's *Travels*, London, 1778, page 147.

The Indian agency at Mackinaw in 1888 reported:—

Ojibways of Saginaw and vicinity 2500

Lake Superior bands 1000

Mixed with Ottawas 6000

OJIBWAYS OF CANADA.

By the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, it was agreed that England should retain possession of all the posts of Hudson's Bay, and to keep the Indians of Lake Superior from trading with the English, at the north, it became necessary for the French to revive their posts at 509 Nepigon, and Michipicoton. As traders appeared along the north shore, some of the Ojibways who had lived at Sault Ste. Marie settled near them, and gradually spread over what is now the Dominion of Canada.

The Canadian Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the year ending June 30, 1883, estimates the Ojibway population as follows:—

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

Ojibways and Ottawas of Manitoulin and Cockburn Islands 1673

Ojibways of Lake Huron 2934

" " Georgian Bay 685

" " Lake Superior 1883

" " Garden River near Sault Ste. Marie and Batchewana Bay 725

" " Beau Soleil 818

" " Nawash 397

" " Saugeen, County Bruce 368

" " Rama, County Ontario 247

" " Snake Island, Lake Simcoe 135

" " Sarnia, etc. 485

" with Ottawas and Pottawattamies of Walpole Island, River St. Clair 789

" with Munsees of the Thames 582

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

The Ojibways did not dare to hunt in the valley of the Red River of the North, until the Northwest Company established posts at Pembina, Park River, and Red Lake River. They were then introduced as hunters, but the Crees and Assineboines, to whom the country

Library of Congress

belonged, looked upon them as intruders. In what is now Minnesota, at the junction of the Red Lake River, and the Red River of the North known as the Grand Fork, Thomas, 510 Earl Selkirk on July 3, 1817, made a treaty with the Crees or Knistineaux, and the “Chippewa or Saulteaux.”

The Ojibways being a party in this treaty, Ross¹ writes, “gave great umbrage to the Crees, who in consequence have repeatedly threatened to drive them back to their old haunts about Lake Superior.”

1 *The Red River Settlement*, by Alexander Ross. London, 1856, p. 12.

In the census of 1883, they are computed with the Crees, and enumeration is therefore omitted.